

BY NURUDDIN AR-RANIRI  
BOOK IV OF THE *BUSTAN US-SALATIN*: A STUDY FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS  
OF A 17TH CENTURY MALAY WORK WRITTEN IN NORTH SUMATRA

A thesis presented to the University of London

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

CATHERINE ANNE GRINTER

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

1979



ProQuest Number: 10731678

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731678

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

# ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the composition of the *Bustan us-Salatin* by Nuruddin ar-Raniri using internal evidence to establish the aims of the author and the nature of the work. This analysis shows that the *Bustan us-Salatin* displays far greater planning and organization of material than has hitherto been recognized. It is suggested that Chapters 11, 12 and 13 of Book II were not part of the work as envisaged by Nuruddin ar-Raniri.

An edition of Book IV of the *bustan us-Salatin* and a translation of the text is presented. The edition is accompanied by textual notes and lists of proper names and unusual words.

An examination of the Arabic sources of the stories of Book IV has been undertaken with special emphasis on the works of al-Ghazzālī and the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yafī'ī and shows the selectivity with which Nuruddin ar-Raniri used materials from such sources. Parallel themes in Malay Literature have been examined concentrating especially on those within the Malay *Taj us-Salatin* and *Hikayat Bakhtiar*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF TABLES	5
CAPTIONS TO FIGURES	6
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	7
SECTION 1 - INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Introduction to the study of the <i>Bustan us-Salatin</i>	8
1.1.1 Book I	12
1.1.2 Book II	17
1.1.3 Book III	28
1.1.4 Book IV	30
1.1.5 Book V	31
1.1.6 Book VI	32
1.1.7 Book VII	34
1.2 Notes on the composition of the <i>Bustan us-Salatin</i>	38
1.2.1 The structural homogeneity of the <i>Bustan us-Salatin</i> in its present form	42
1.2.2 Conclusions to be drawn on the structure of Book II	52
SECTION 2 - THE MANUSCRIPTS OF BOOK IV	
2.1 Manuscripts containing Book IV of the <i>Bustan us-Salatin</i>	55
2.1.1 Manuscript A: Raffles Malay MS no 8	56
2.1.2 Use of vowel points in Raffles Malay MS no 8	56
2.1.3 A comparison of Raffles Malay MS no 8 with other vowelised Malay manuscripts	63
2.1.4 The spelling of Raffles Malay MS no 8	70
2.2 Manuscript B: Raffles Malay MS no 42	74
2.3 Manuscript C: Kuala Lumpur MS no 41	76
2.4 Manuscript D: Jakarta MS no 286D	78
2.5 Manuscript E: Paris Malayo-Polynésien no 275	79
2.6 The relationship between the manuscripts	82



## SECTION 3 - THE TEXT

- 3.1 The method of the text edition 85  
3.2 An edition of Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* 87

## SECTION 4 - THE TRANSLATION

- 4.1 Translation of Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* 195

## SECTION 5 - THE SOURCES

- 5.1 Introduction to the Arabic sources named by  
Nuruddin ar-Raniri 264  
5.2 Detailed examination of the sources used for  
Book IV and parallel themes in Malay Literature 274

## SECTION 6 - LISTS

- 6.1 List of proper names occurring in the text 300  
6.2 List of unusual words occurring in the text 309

- BIBLIOGRAPHY 317

LIST OF TABLES

	PAGE
TABLE 1 The incidence of chapters within Book II	19
TABLE 2 Comparison of the chapter headings in the <i>Nasīhat al-mulūk</i> and the <i>Bustan us-Salatin</i>	41
TABLE 3 A provisional list of words found in Chapters 11, 12 and 13 of Book II which do not appear elsewhere in the <i>Bustan us-Salatin</i>	49
TABLE 4 Earliest and latest dates occurring in the chapters of Book II	51
TABLE 5 Spelling of common words in some vowelised MSS	66
TABLE 6 Collation of page numbers	81
TABLE 7 The occurrence of certain <i>Rawd</i> stories within the <i>Bustan</i>	272

CAPTIONS TO FIGURES

	PAGE
FIGURE 1 Page 277 of Raffles Malay MS no 8	57
FIGURE 2 Page 294 of Raffles Malay MS no 42	75
FIGURE 3 Page 597 of Kuala Lumpur MS no 41	77
FIGURE 4 Page 74 of Paris Malayo-Polynésien no 275	80

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr R Jones for his enthusiasm and guidance and to Professor E H S Simmonds for extending the facilities of the Department of S E Asia. My thanks are also due to Dr Abdel Haleem for help with the Arabic quotations within the Malay text and to Dr Gandjei for providing the transcription of the Persian poem in the text. I wish to express my thanks to colleagues in both the Department of S E Asia and the Department of Near and Middle East of SOAS and to the library staff of SOAS and Leiden University.

Financial support for this project was provided by a Major State Studentship from the Department of Education and Science.

## SECTION 1 - INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE *BUSTAN US-SALATIN*

The *Bustan us-Salatin* was written by Nuruddin ar-Raniri<sup>1</sup>, one of the most important writers of 17th century Aceh in North Sumatra. As his name indicates, he came from Raniri (modern Rander) in Gujerat and was not a Malay. He was a prolific author in Malay and also wrote in Arabic. It would appear that his family had links with South Arabia and also maintained close contacts with Aceh, the court of which played such a prominent role in stimulating Malay religious writing. His uncle visited Aceh to teach logic, rhetoric, ethics and *fiqh* in 1580 and 1583 but had no success due to the prevalence of mysticism at that time. Undoubtedly Nuruddin ar-Raniri learnt a great deal about the religious situation in Aceh from his uncle.

Although Nuruddin ar-Raniri's date of birth is unknown; it has been established that he arrived in Aceh in 1637 after the death of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) and wrote under the patronage of his successor Sultan Iskandar Thani (1637-1641). He remained in favour in the early part of the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani's successor, the Sultana Taj al-Alam but was expelled by her in 1643 and returned to Rander where he died in 1658.

It is not known how Nuruddin ar-Raniri learnt his Malay. It has been suggested that he did so on unrecorded visits to either Aceh or Pahang. Alternatively he may have learnt Malay in Mecca which he visited in 1621 in order to perform the pilgrimage or from either the Malay community in Gujerat or from his mother who may have been

---

<sup>1</sup>His full name is Nūruddīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasanjī ibn Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Ranīrī.

a Malay. On his arrival in Aceh in 1637 he had clearly acquired a reasonable proficiency, sufficient to enable him to write in the language<sup>2</sup>.

During his brief stay in Aceh (1637-1643) Nuruddin ar-Raniri is attributed with a great number of works. Perhaps the most famous and the most discussed of these are those that attack the mystical beliefs held by Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani. These polemical works have attracted the attention of many scholars leaving his longest work, the *Bustan us-Salatin*, relatively unexamined. The *Bustan us-Salatin* is a large encyclopaedic work made up of seven books (*bab*) each of which is subdivided into a varied number of chapters (*fasal*). The scope of the work is extremely wide and it was compiled using various Arabic sources.

Only small portions of the *Bustan us-Salatin* have been published. In 1899 Wilkinson published parts of Book I and Book II in Jawi script without notes; these have now become quite rare. Short passages and extracts from the *Bustan us-Salatin* have also appeared. In 1966 Iskandar published a critical edition of Book II Chapter 13 and in 1974 Jones published a critical edition of the first part of Chapter 1 of Book IV. One of the problems in editing the *Bustan us-Salatin* is that the work is so vast and encompasses such a range of topics that it can only be studied in detail when broken down into books or chapters. This thesis presents an edition of the remainder of Book IV. The background analysis of the *Bustan us-Salatin* required for this study follows and begins with the description of the

---

<sup>2</sup>For a history of Aceh around this period see Lombard (1967); for further details on the life and works of Nuruddin ar-Raniri see Drewes (1955 A), Voorhoeve (1951, 1955, 1959, 1961), Iskandar (1964, 1966), <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hayy (1955), Anon (1967) and Ito (1978); for a discussion on the *Bustan us-Salatin* see Djajadiningrat (1911), Winstedt (1920 A, 1920 B), Iskandar (1966, 1967, 1968) and Jones (1974); and for a discussion on the nature of Nuruddin ar-Raniri's other works see Voorhoeve (ed) (1955), Archer (1937), Van Ronkel (1943), Van Nieuwenhuyze (1948), Tudjimah (ed) (1961), Johns (1957, 1961 A), Tjokrowinoto (1964) and al-Attas (1966).

of the aims of the author and the nature of the work derived from internal evidence.

The introduction to the *Bustan us-Salatin*<sup>3</sup> provides one of the most important dates connected with the life and writings of its compiler Nuruddin ar-Raniri, that of his arrival in Aceh. He speaks of this as being on the 6 Muharram 1047 (31 May 1637)<sup>4</sup>. There seems little reason to doubt the truth of this statement, although there is discussion as to whether this was his first visit to Aceh. Soon after his arrival, Nuruddin ar-Raniri explains that he received an order from Sultan Iskandar Thani in Syawwal 1047 (March 1638)<sup>5</sup>:

To compose a book (*kitab*) in the Malay language concerning the deeds of the denizens of the seven layers of the heavens and the seven layers of the earth...To relate the deeds of kings of former times and later. Although my knowledge is limited and I have not much understanding of Malay, I obeyed his highness' command and I rely on the Lord who created the universe.<sup>6</sup>

Nuruddin ar-Raniri invokes God's help in this task, lists some of the Arabic books he will use (Section 5.1) and continues by writing of the proposed structure and content of the work:

I decided to follow each story with appropriate verses from the Holy Quran and from reliable *hadith*...And I named this work *Bustan us-Salatin*, this means the garden of kings, to

---

<sup>3</sup>The full Arabic title is given in Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 4 *Bustān al-salātīn fī dhikr al-awwalīn wa-'l-ākhirīn* and the full Malay title as *Kebun segala raja-raja dan menyatakan permulaan segala kejadian dan kesudahnya*.

<sup>4</sup>Voorhoeve 1951 p 357. <sup>5</sup>Djajadiningrat 1911 p 136.

<sup>6</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 3 *Bahwa membasakan suatu kitab dengan bahasa Jawi pada hal mengandung perkataan segala yang mengediami tujuh petala langit dan tujuh petala bumi...Dan menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang dahulu dan yang kemudian. Maka dijunjung fakir titah yang maha mulia serta singkat pengetahuannya lagi kurang fahamnya pada basa Jawi pada hal berpegang ia kepada Tuhan yang menjadikan seru sekalian alam*.

relate the beginning of the creation and the ending. I have divided the work into seven books.<sup>7</sup>

A list of the proposed titles for the seven books then follows.

From these statements it can be deduced that before he began to write Nuruddin ar-Raniri had in his mind a specific structure for the completed work: Each individual tale (*hikayat*) was to be followed by an appropriate quotation from the Quran and *hadith*. As will be shown, this is indeed the structural pattern that emerges.

Although it can be assumed that Nuruddin ar-Raniri began to write the *Bustan us-Salatin* soon after he was commissioned to do so, there has been no discussion on its date of completion. Prior to the discovery of the manuscript copy of Book III, some scholars argued that it was probably never completed. However it is possible to deduce an approximate date for its completion. In another work, *Asrar al-insan fi makrifa al-ruh wa'l-rahman*, Nuruddin ar-Raniri notes that he has previously dealt with the subject of intellect (*akal*) in the seventh book of the *Bustan us-Salatin*<sup>8</sup>. This is the only known reference to the *Bustan us-Salatin* in any other work by the author. Nuruddin ar-Raniri completed the *Asrar al-insan* around 1050 (1640 AD)<sup>9</sup>. If it is assumed that the books were written in their numerical order and that no interpolations were made after the completion of Book VII, this gives us a terminus ad quem of 1640 AD for the completion of the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

It is known from the commencement and completion dates of other works that Nuruddin ar-Raniri at certain times was engaged in writing more than one work. As an example, the *Sirat al-mustakim* was begun in 1044 AH and completed in 1054 AH, spanning a period during which

---

<sup>7</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 4 Dan ditentukan fakir pada menyatakan kesudahannya segala hikayat itu dengan ayat Quran yang mulia dan dengan hadis yang sahih lagi patut dengan hikayat itu...Dan dinamai fakir kitab ini *Bustan us-Salatin*, artinya kebun segala raja-raja dan menyatakan permulaan segala kejadian dan kesudahannya. Dan dijadikan oleh fakir kitab ini tujuh babnya.

<sup>8</sup>Tudjimah (ed) 1961 p 125. <sup>9</sup>Voorhoeve 1955 p 156.



time he also completed the *Asrar al-insan* (1050 AH) and wrote the entire *Bustan us-Salatin*. It is clear that he had a great capacity for work: A complete manuscript of the *Bustan us-Salatin* would consist of some 1250 manuscript pages, a substantial work by any standard. When one bears in mind the wide variety of subjects that the work encompasses and the fact that only three years at most were involved in composition, we cannot exclude the possibility that Nuruddin ar-Raniri had written parts of the work before his arrival in Aceh, or at the very least had a clear idea of the Arabic works he would refer to if commissioned to compose such a work. The system of cross-references to past and future material in the work adds weight to such an hypothesis, as such references would demand detailed advanced planning by an author.

The general background to the work is examined in the following sections, book by book. The chapters of each book are listed and points of interest and general references to material found elsewhere in the work are noted.

#### 1.1.1 BOOK I

The title of the first book (*bab*) of the *Bustan us-Salatin* is<sup>10</sup>:

Book one concerns the first that was created by God Most High, the creation of the seven layers of the heavens and the seven layers of the earth and what appertains to them. The book contains several chapters.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>The title referred to is that given at the beginning of each book and not to the abbreviated title cited by the author in his introductory remarks. For titles of books and chapters Raffles Malay MS no 8 for Books I and II is used, major variations are noted where they occur in the other manuscripts.

<sup>11</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 6 *Sebermula bab yang pertama pada menyatakan peri yang pertama dijadikan Allah Taala dan peri kejadian tujuh petala langit dan tujuh petala bumi dan barang yang takluk pada keduanya. Dan dalamnya itu beberapa fasal.*

The chapters (*fasal*) of this book are not numbered but amount to thirty. Voorhoeve and scholars after him have noted that the book contains ten chapters<sup>12</sup>, and likewise have underestimated the total number of chapters in the whole work. The discrepancy may be due to the examination of an incomplete manuscript. Book I is contained in the following manuscripts:

1. Raffles Malay MS no 8.
2. Raffles Malay MS no 42.
3. Kuala Lumpur MS no 41.
4. Leiden Cod Or 5443 (which contains only the introduction, copied from Raffles Malay MS no 42).
5. Jakarta KBG 420 Mal (according to Voorhoeve containing only Arabic words and sentences<sup>12</sup>).

From an examination of manuscripts 1, 2, 3 and 4 it seems that Book I contains the following chapters:

(1) *Fasal inilah suatu fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian nur Muhammad (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) dan barang yang takluk kepadanya* - This chapter concerns the creation of the light of Muhammad (may God bless him and grant him peace) and what appertains to it.

This chapter contains the first reference by the author to his intention of dealing at greater length with certain items later in his work. After a description of the creation of the world in six days, Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

We will discuss this further in the chapter concerning the creation of heaven and earth.<sup>13</sup>

The chapter on the creation of heaven (number 11 of this book) does in fact discuss the creation in six days and nights from Sunday to Friday.

The chapter also contains an interesting reference to a Malay work with which Nuruddin ar-Raniri was familiar. Following an account of the creation of a candle, and relating how men were ordered to

---

<sup>12</sup>Voorhoeve 1955 p 154.

<sup>13</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 8 *Lagi akan kami sebutkan pada fasal kejadian langit dan kejadian bumi.*

look at *Nur Muhammad*, he explains that this is why men attain different social ranks in life and then comments:

This story has already been put into Malay therefore we will not deal with it fully but finish here.<sup>14</sup>

Nuruddin ar-Raniri may here be referring to the *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*. It is known that Malay versions of this work must date from a very early age. A Jakarta manuscript (vdW 76A) dated 1253 AH (1837 AD) records that a translation from the Arabic original was completed in 1079 AH (1668 AD)<sup>15</sup>. The *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* was also known to Werndly in 1736 AD<sup>16</sup>, and may have been known to Nuruddin ar-Raniri.

(2) *Fasal inilah pada menyatakan peri kejadian luh mahful* - This chapter concerns the creation of the preserved tablet.

(3) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian kalam* - Chapter concerning the creation of the pen.

(4) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian arasy* - Chapter concerning the creation of the throne.

(5) *Fasal pada menyatakan kursi* - Chapter concerning the creation of the footstool.

(6) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian liwa' al-hami* - Chapter concerning the creation of the emblem of praise.

(7) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian malaikat* - Chapter concerning the creation of the angels.

(8) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian sidratulmuntaha* - Chapter concerning the creation of the lotus-tree (in the seventh heaven).

(9) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian jan* - Chapter concerning the

---

<sup>14</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 9 *Adapun hikayat ini adalah telah sudah dijawabkan orang, sebab itulah fakir tiada habis menyatakan akan dia melainkan membawa sampunan jua.*

<sup>15</sup>Van Ronkel 1909 p 223-224. <sup>16</sup>Winstedt 1939 p 69.

creation of Jan (the father of the *jīn*).

(10) *Fasal bilangan segala alim* - Chapter enumerating the wise (the chapter is devoted to a discussion of *jīn*).

(11) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian tujuh petala langit* - Chapter concerning the creation of the seven layers of the heavens.

(12) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian surga* - Chapter concerning the creation of Paradise.

(13) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian anak bidadari*<sup>17</sup> - Chapter concerning the creation of nymphs.

(14) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian Baitulmakmur* - Chapter concerning the creation of the House of Plenty (that is the original Kaabah in heaven).

(15) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian matahari dan bulan dan bintang* - Chapter concerning the creation of the sun, moon and stars.

(16) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian kelodan tahi bintang yaitu lontar*<sup>18</sup> *segala malaikat* - Chapter concerning the creation of meteors that are thrown by angels (at devils).

(17) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian awan* - Chapter concerning the creation of the clouds.

(18) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian air sejuk dan air beku dan embun* -

---

<sup>17</sup> Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 has *kejadian nur al-ain yaitu segala bidadari*. Raffles Malay MS no 42 has *kejadian nur al-ain yaitu bidadari*.

<sup>18</sup> *lontar* spelt *lotar* in Raffles Malay MS no 8 and 42. Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 has *kejadian kelodan dan tahi bintang yaitu segala syaitan*. The Jawi edition of Wilkinson (1899) has *kejadian k-l-w yaitu tahi bintang itulah dilontarkan malaikat pada segala syaitan*.

Chapter concerning the creation of cool water, ice and dew.

(19) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian kilat dan halilintar dan guruh* - Chapter concerning the creation of lightning, thunderbolts and thunder.

(20) *Fasal (pada menyatakan)<sup>19</sup> peri kejadian bintang raja yang kelihatan pada udara itu* - Chapter concerning the creation of the heavenly bodies that are visible in the sky.

(21) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian tujuh petala bumi* - Chapter concerning the creation of the seven layers of the earth.

(22) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian Kaabah Allah* - Chapter concerning the creation of the Kaabah.

(23) *Fasal pada menyatakan kejadian Bukit Kaf* - Chapter concerning the creation of Mount Kaf.

(24) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian yang menanggung bumi<sup>20</sup>* - Chapter concerning the creation of that which supports the earth.

(25) *Fasal pada menyatakan (peri kejadian)<sup>21</sup> gempa* - Chapter concerning the creation of earthquakes.

(26) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian neraka* - Chapter concerning the creation of earthquakes.

(27) *Fasal pada menyatakan peri kejadian korah bumi* - Chapter concerning the creation of the globe.

(28) *Fasal pada menyatakan bilangan segala laut dengan sungai* - Chapter enumerating the oceans and rivers.

---

<sup>19</sup> from Raffles Malay MS no 42 and Kuala Lumpur MS no 41.

<sup>20</sup> Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 has *yang menanggung tujuh petala bumi*.

<sup>21</sup> from Raffles Malay MS no 42 and Kuala Lumpur MS no 41.

(29) *Fasal pada menyatakan (bilangan)*<sup>22</sup> *segala alam* - Chapter enumerating the lands.

(30) *Fasal pada menyatakan segala aklim dan segala yang mengediami dia* - Chapter concerning the regions and their denizens.

In content these chapters follow the style outlined by Nuruddin ar-Raniri in his introduction, that is to say, a story or description backed by quotations from the Quran and *hadith*. The source or authority is usually named. This style continues into the second book.

#### 1.1.2 BOOK II

The title of the second book of the *Pustan us-Salatin* is:

Book two concerns the history of the prophets and the history of apostles of God, relating some of their deeds, from the time of the prophet of God Adam to our Prophet Muhammad (may God bless him and grant him peace) and relating some deeds of kings in former times including their affairs and reigns from the time of Sultan Kiyau Murti to the time of our lord his majesty Sultan Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat Syah Johan Berdaulat (the shadow of God upon the earth). We will abbreviate the words of the book so that the narrative is not too protracted. The book contains several chapters.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>from Raffles Malay MS no 42 and Kuala Lumpur MS no 41.

<sup>23</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 75 *Bab yang kedua pada menyatakan permulaan tarikh segala anbiya dan tarikh segala rasul Allah; dan menyatakan setengah daripada kelakuan mereka itu daripada nabi Allah Adam hingga sampai kepada Nabi kita Muhammad Rasul Allah (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) dan menyatakan setengah daripada kelakuan segala raja-raja pada jaman dahulu kala serta dengan hal-ahwal mereka itu dan lanjut umur mereka itu daripada masa Sultan Kiyau Murti hingga sampai kepada masa tuan kita Paduka Seri Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat*

The number of chapters contained in this book varies between manuscripts, but in no case exceeds thirteen (Table 1). The book is found in the following manuscripts: <sup>p. 19</sup>

1. Raffles Malay MS no 8.
2. Raffles Malay MS no 42.
3. Kuala Lumpur MS no 41.
4. Leiden Cod Or 5443 (copied from Raffles Malay MS no 42 according to Voorhoeve<sup>24</sup>).
5. Leiden Cod Or 1971 (now in too bad a condition to be consulted).
6. Jakarta ML 422 (contains Chapters 12 and 13, not listed in Van Ronkel's 1909 catalogue). The manuscript was copied from Leiden Cod Or 1971.

The chapters of Book II are:

(1) *Fasal pertama pada menyatakan tarikh segala anbiya yang mursal dan anbiya yang tiada mursal* - The first chapter concerns stories of prophets who were apostles and those without special missions.

This chapter contains a reference to the *kisas al-anbiya*. After giving an account of the king of Egypt and Siti Sarah, Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

Raja Mesir presented Siti Sarah with a woman called Hajar, as is related in the *Kissat al-anbiya*.<sup>25</sup>

It cannot be assumed that Nuruddin ar-Raniri was necessarily familiar with the Malay versions of *Kisas al-anbiya*. Gerth van Wijk in a study of the nature of such stories cannot date their adaptation into Malay<sup>26</sup>. It seems likely that Malay stories concerning the prophets may date from the beginning of Islamic influence in

---

23 (cont) *Syah Johan Berdaulat (zillullah fi'l-alam)*. Maka adalah disampunkan fakir perkataan kitab supaya jangan lanjut perkataan kitab ini. Dan adalah beberapa fasal.

<sup>24</sup>Voorhoeve 1955 p 154.

<sup>25</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 87 Maka dikaruniai oleh Raja Mesir akan Siti Sarah itu seorang perempuan bernama Hajar, seperti yang tersebut hikayatnya dalam *kissat al-anbiya* itulah.

<sup>26</sup>Gerth van Wijk 1893 p 251.

<u>RAFFLES</u> <u>MALAY 8</u>	<u>RAFFLES</u> <u>MALAY 42</u>	<u>K.L.</u> <u>MS 41</u>	<u>COD OR</u> <u>5443</u>	<u>COD OR</u> <u>1971</u>	<u>JAKARTA</u> <u>ML 422</u>	<u>WILKINSON</u> <u>EDITION</u>
1	1	1	-	1	-	1
2	2	2	-	2	-	2
3	3	3	-	3	-	3
4	-	4	-	4	-	4
5	-	5	-	5	-	5
6	-	6	-	6	-	6
7	-	7	-	7	-	7
8	-	8	-	8	-	8
9	-	9	-	9	-	9
10	10	10	-	10	-	10
11	11	11*	-	11	-	11*
12	12	-	12 <sup>o</sup>	12	12 <sup>=</sup>	-
13	13	-	13 <sup>o</sup>	13	13 <sup>=</sup>	-

\* Content and title correspond to Chapter 13 in Raffles Malay 8 and 42.

<sup>o</sup> Copied from Raffles Malay 42.

<sup>=</sup> Copied from Cod Or 1971.

- Chapter is not found within this manuscript.

TABLE 1 THE INCIDENCE OF CHAPTERS WITHIN BOOK II



the Archipelago. If so, it is possible that Nuruddin ar-Raniri could refer to a Malay version. However his predominant use of Arabic sources would tend to indicate his use of either that of al-Kisā'ī or the more popular one by al-Tha<sup>c</sup>alabi<sup>27</sup>. Similar versions of the *Kisas al-anbiya* exist in many languages<sup>28</sup>, making an exact source difficult to establish.

(2) *Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan segala raja-raja yang kerajaan pada jaman dahulu kala kemudian masa nabi Allah Adam (alaihi as-salam)* - Chapter two concerns the kings who ruled in former times after the prophet of God Adam (upon him be peace).

This chapter contains the following often cited reference<sup>29</sup> to other writings of Nuruddin ar-Raniri. After a mention of Iskandar Zulkarnain, he says:

We will not prolong our story as we have already put this story into Malay in another book.<sup>30</sup>

The significance of this reference will be discussed in connection with Chapter 3 of this book.

The chapter also contains the following references to other material found elsewhere in the *Bustan us-Salatin*:

(A) After a story of a man called Sultan Sabur Zu'l-Aknaf who was imprisoned by Sultan Kistin (Constantine?) Rum, Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

God willing, we will relate his story further in the chapter concerning courage.<sup>31</sup>

Book VI Chapter 2 contains further stories about brave men and the story of Sultan Sabur is amongst them.

(B) After a story of Yazdujir, Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

---

<sup>27</sup>Knappert 1976 p 103.      <sup>28</sup>Jeffery 1962 p 560.

<sup>29</sup>The discussion began with Winstedt 1938 p 4.

<sup>30</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 106 *Maka tiadalah fakir memanjangkan (m-n-j-ng-k-n) kalam dari karena sudah dijawabkan fakir pada kitab yang lain.*

<sup>31</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 110 *Insy Allah Taala lagi akan tersebutkan fakir kisahnya dalam fasal sajaah.*

God willing, we will relate a further story about him in the book concerning oppression.<sup>32</sup>

Indeed in Book V Chapter 1 there is a story about this king.

(C) After mentioning Firuz Syah, his children and the battle against Sultan Jisaur Syah, the author comments:

God willing, we will relate his story further in the book concerning courage.<sup>33</sup>

Book VI Chapter 2 contains stories of Firuz Syah.

(D) After mentioning the ascension to the throne of Nusyirwan, he continues:

God willing, we will relate his story further in the book of the just.<sup>34</sup>

The last section of Chapter 2 of Book III contains many stories of Raja Nusyirwan.

These four references are the beginning of a pattern which is developed in Book II of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. Nuruddin ar-Raniri introduces characters; kings, ministers and the like within their historical context. This is so that later when he uses them to illustrate his didactic material, the reader will be familiar with the characters. Thus when he is reading of the oppression of King Yazdujir in Book V, the reader should already be acquainted with the background to this king. It appears likely therefore that Nuruddin ar-Raniri's intention in these chapters of Book II was to give a skeleton history of various kings and nations so that he could use the various rulers later in his didactic material.

(3) *Fazal yang ketiga pada menyatakan ahwal segala raja-raja di benua Yunan dan benua Rum pada jaman dahulu kala* - Chapter three concerns the kings of Yunan and Rum in former times.

---

<sup>32</sup> Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 111 *Insyah Allah Taala lagi akan diceriterakan fakir hikayatnya pada bab al-salim*.

<sup>33</sup> Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 112 *Insyah Allah Taala lagi akan disebutkan fakir hikayatnya pada bab sajaah*.

<sup>34</sup> Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 112 *Insyah Allah Taala lagi akan disebutkan fakir hikayatnya pada bab al-adil*.

The chapter also contains a reference to Iskandar:

We will not prolong our account as we have elsewhere put this story into Malay.<sup>35</sup>

This statement and the previous one in Chapter 2 led Winstedt to conclude:

One can only surmise that Shaikh Nuru'd-din wrote a book referring to Alexander which has not yet been discovered or identified.<sup>36</sup>

The age of the Malay *Hikayat Iskandar* precludes Nuruddin ar-Raniri's authorship<sup>37</sup>. On the other hand, there is evidence that some of Nuruddin ar-Raniri's works no longer exist; an example being a work called *Lataif al-asrar* mentioned in three other works by the same author of which a manuscript has not been found<sup>38</sup>. It is possible that a book on Iskandar by Nuruddin ar-Raniri may exist in obscurity. It would seem more likely however that here Nuruddin ar-Raniri is referring to stories about Iskandar elsewhere in the *Bustan us-Salatin*; Books III, IV and VI all contain stories about Iskandar. An investigation into the use of the word *kitab* by the author in both the *Bustan us-Salatin* and his other works may yield evidence relating to this question. References in the *Bustan us-Salatin* to the material on Iskandar use the word *kitab*, elsewhere *kitab* is used to refer to the work as a whole<sup>39</sup>.

(4) *Fasal yang keempat pada menyatakan ahwal segala raja-raja yang kerajaan di benua Mesir* - Chapter four concerning the kings who ruled in Egypt.

(5) *Fasal yang kelima pada menyatakan ahwal segala raja-raja Arab* -

---

<sup>35</sup> Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 116 *Dan tiadalah fakir berpanjang kalam karena telah sudah dijawabkan fakir lain daripada kitab ini.*

<sup>36</sup> Winstedt 1938 p 4. <sup>37</sup> Winstedt 1938 p 2-3.

<sup>38</sup> Voorhoeve 1955 p 156 where other works of which no manuscript copy exists are cited.

<sup>39</sup> Brakel 1969-70 p 3 notes that works like the *Bustan us-Salatin* are never called *kitab*, *sejarah* or *salasilah*. However when the author or in some cases a copyists refers to the *Bustan us-Salatin*, it is as *kitab* or *kitab Bustan us-Salatin*.

Chapter five concerning the kings who ruled in Arabia.

This chapter also contains a reference to another work by Nuruddin ar-Raniri. After mentioning the descendents of Kahlan ibn Sabahanya, Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

We have already related their story with the story of the prophet of God Sulaiman (upon him be peace) other than in this book.<sup>40</sup>

It is not clear from the Malay wording whether Nuruddin ar-Raniri is speaking of stories about Sulaiman within the *Bustan us-Salatin* or in his previous writings. Stories of Sulaiman are related both in the first chapter of Book II and in Book III.

(6) *Fasal yang keenam pada menyatakan ahwal segala raja-raja Kudah yaitu di benua Najd* - Chapter six concerning the kings of Kudah that is in the Nejd.

(7) *Fasal yang ketujuh pada menyatakan ahwal segala benua Hijaz yaitu hampir Makah* - Chapter seven concerning the kings of the Hijaz that is near Makah.

(8) *Fasal yang kedelapan pada menyatakan ahwal kejadian Nabi kita Muhammad Rasul Allah (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) dan menyatakan silsilah nasabnya* - Chapter eight concerns the birth of the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) and his ancestry.

The chapter contains the following references to other material:

(A) Nuruddin ar-Raniri mentions the grandfather of the Prophet, Abd al-Mutalib and his twelve sons and six daughters and then comments:

God willing we will speak of his death in the story of the death of the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace).<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 122 *Telah sudahlah disebutkan fakir cerita-teranya pada kisah nabi Allah Sulaiman (alaihi assalam) lain daripada kitab ini.*

<sup>41</sup> Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 123 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan disebutkan fakir perkataannya pada kisah wafat Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam).*

The account of the death of the Prophet is related later in this same chapter.

(B) The Prophet and Abdullah Jasyi are mentioned and then Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

God willing his story and his migrations will be given in the chapter concerning courage.<sup>42</sup>

There are many stories of the Prophet and his companions in Book VI.

(C) Amir al-mukminin Umar is mentioned and then there is the comment:

God willing we will relate his story in the book concerning the just.<sup>43</sup>

There are many stories about the Caliph Umar in Book III.

(9) *Fasal yang kesembilan pada menyatakan ahwal raja-raja yang kerajaan di Lerua Syam daripada kaum bani Ummayah* - Chapter nine concerning the Umayyad kings who ruled in Syam.

The following references to other material in the *Bustan us-Salatin* are contained in this chapter:

(A) There is mention of sultan Abd al-Malik tricking the vizier of Abdullah ibn Abbas called Umar ibn al-Saad ibn al-As, and then he comments:

God willing we will relate his story in the chapter concerning courage.<sup>44</sup>

This story is related in Book VI.

(B) Hajaj is mentioned and then the comment:

God willing we will relate his story in the book concerning oppression.<sup>45</sup>

Indeed there are several stories concerned with the oppression of

<sup>42</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 134 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut hikayatnya dan hijratnya pada fasal sajaah.*

<sup>43</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 145 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut hikayatnya pada bab al-adil.*

<sup>44</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 166 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut hikayatnya pada fasal sajaah.*

<sup>45</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 170 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut riwayatnya pada bab al-zalim.*

Hajaj ibn Yusuf in Book V.

(C) The Caliph Umar ibn al-aziz is mentioned and Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

We will relate his stories in the book concerning the just.<sup>46</sup>  
There are many stories concerning this Caliph in Chapter 2 of Book III.

(10) *Fasal yang kesepuluh pada menyatakan ahwal raja-raja daripada kaum bani Abbas* - Chapter ten concerning the Abbasid kings.

This chapter also follows the pattern of introducing kings who will be used to illustrate Nuruddin ar-Raniri's teachings later in the *Bustan us-Salatin*. The following references occur:

(A) There is mention of Imam Sufian asy-Syuri, who died during the reign of Harun ar-Rasyid, with the following comment:

God willing we will relate his deeds again in the book concerning the just.<sup>47</sup>

His deeds are related in Chapter 2 of Book III.

(B) Jafar is mentioned and then the comment:

God willing we will relate his deeds in the seventh book.<sup>48</sup>

There are many stories of the amorous adventures of Harun ar-Rasyid and Jafar Barmaki in the last chapter of Book VII.

(C) The death of Fadil ibn Yahya Barmaki is mentioned and there follows the comment:

God willing we will relate his story in the book concerning the generous.<sup>49</sup>

His story is related in Chapter 1 of Book VI.

(D) The Caliph Harun ar-Rasyid is mentioned and Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

God willing we will relate his story in the book concerning

<sup>46</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 171 *Lagi akan tersebut segala hikayatnya pada bab al-adil.*

<sup>47</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 185 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut perkataannya pada bab al-adil.*

<sup>48</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 190 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan diceriterakan fakir perkataannya pada bab yang ketujuh.*

<sup>49</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 192 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut hikayatnya pada bab al-sakhawat.*

the just.<sup>50</sup>

There are indeed many stories concerning Harun ar-Rasyid in Book III and elsewhere in the *Bustan us-Salatin*. He appears to be the character most used to illustrate Nuruddin ar-Raniri's teaching.

(E) Sultan Mamun ar-Rasid is mentioned and then the comment:

God willing we will relate the story of his battles in the chapter concerning courage.<sup>51</sup>

The story of these battles is in Chapter 2 of Book VI.

(F) The death of Abu Dalaf is mentioned followed by the comment:

God willing we will relate his story in the book concerning the generous.<sup>52</sup>

There is a long story concerning Abu Dalaf in Chapter 1 of Book VI.

Chapter 10 also contains one reference to material already discussed:

The death of the twelfth Imam, Abu al-Kasim, that is the Imam Mahdi is mentioned and there follows the comment:

His story has already been related.<sup>53</sup>

The story of the Imam occurs earlier in this same chapter.

(11) *Fasal yang kesebelas pada menyatakan tarikh segala raja-raja yang kerajaan di negeri Hindustan yang bernama Dihli, dan pada masa sekarang ini negeri yang lain yang bernama Agra dan Jahayabad pun namanya* - Chapter eleven relates the history of a state in Hindustan called Dihli and of a present-day state called Agra which is also called Jahayabad.

This chapter and the following two differ in structure from the previous ones in Book II. Until Chapter 11, the pattern has been to give the background to kings who will be used to exemplify the didactic teachings of Nuruddin ar-Raniri later in the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

<sup>50</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 192 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut hikayatnya pada bab al-adil.*

<sup>51</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 193 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut hikayatnya peperangannya pada fasal sajaah.*

<sup>52</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 198 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut hikayatnya pada bab al-sakawat.*

<sup>53</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 207 *Telah dahulu sudah tersebut hikayatnya.*

Chapters 11, 12 and 13 do not follow this pattern.

Chapter 11 contains a list of the Muslim kings of Hindustan from 337 AH (948 AD) and ends by extolling the virtues of Sultan Auranzib who ascended the throne in 1068 AH. (1658 AD). 1658 AD was also the year that Nuruddin ar-Raniri died in India<sup>54</sup>. This, and the fact that the *Bustan us-Salatin* was completed by 1050 AH (1640 AD) will be discussed later in this study.

(12) *Fasal yang kedubelas pada menyatakan tarikh segala raja-raja di negeri Malaka dan Pahang* - Chapter twelve relates the history of the kings of Malaka and Pahang.

This chapter quotes as its source the *Sulalatus-Salatin* (*Sejarah Melayu*) of 1021 AH (1612 AD). An edition of the second part of the chapter exists<sup>55</sup>. In the narrative there is a reference to material in the following chapter. After mentioning Sultan Iskandar Thani, the author comments:

God willing we will relate his story at the end of the chapter concerned with the history of the kings who ruled in Aceh.<sup>56</sup>

This implies that the material concerned with Iskandar Thani occurs at the end of Chapter 13. In fact Raffles Malay MS no 8, Raffles Malay MS no 42, Leiden Cod Or 5443 and Jakarta ML 422 continue the accounts to Sultan Inayat Syah. Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 ends with a brief comment on the ascension of Iskandar Thani to the throne. This and the now-lost manuscript that Wilkinson used for his edition<sup>57</sup> are the only versions to actually end with an account of Iskandar Thani. This chapter establishes the descent of Iskandar Thani and his claims to the Malay states of Johore, Pahang and Perak<sup>58</sup>.

---

<sup>54</sup>Voorhoeve 1959 p 90; he confirms this date by citing <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hayy 1955 p 350.

<sup>55</sup>Winstedt 1920 (A) p 39-47.

<sup>56</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 237 *Insyah Allah Taala lagi akan tersebut hikayatnya pada akhir fasal tarikh segala raja yang kerajaan di negeri Aceh dar us-salam.*

<sup>57</sup>Winstedt 1920 (A) p 39-40. <sup>58</sup>Roolvink 1967 p 311.



(13) *Fasal yang ketigabelas pada menyatakan tarikh segala raja-raja yang kerajaan di negeri (Aceh)*<sup>59</sup> *Dar us-salam* - Chapter thirteen relates the history of the kings who ruled in Aceh.

A critical edition of this chapter exists<sup>60</sup>. The problems contained in this chapter in relation to a structural examination of the *Bustan us-Salat'in* will be discussed in Section 1.2.1.

### 1.1.3 BOOK III

The title of the third book of the *Bustan us-Salat'in* is as follows:

Book three concerns the appointment of kings and their followers, including duties; and concerns the conduct of the Caliphs and just kings including their duties; and also the qualities required of wise viziers and their conduct. The book contains six chapters.<sup>61</sup>

Book three is found in only one manuscript: Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 from pages 292 to 576<sup>62</sup>. The arrangement of Book III depends upon the use of stories to illustrate correct conduct. The author's teaching is often preceded by the word *nasihat* (advice) and is followed by quotations from the Quran and *hadith*. The following chapter divisions are used:

(1) *Fasal yang pertama pada menjadikan raja dan mengikut dia dengan segala syarat* - Chapter one concerns the appointment of kings and their followers together with their duties.

---

<sup>59</sup>from Raffles Malay MS no 42, Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 and Jakarta ML 422.

<sup>60</sup>Iskandar (ed) 1966.

<sup>61</sup>Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 p 292 *Bab yang ketiga pada menyatakan menjadikan raja dan mengikut dia dan syaratnya; dan pada menyatakan kelakuan segala khalifah dan segala raja yang adil dengan segala syaratnya; dan pada menyatakan syarat segala wazir yang bijaksana dan kelakuan mereka itu. Dalamnya enam fasal.*

<sup>62</sup>first described by Roolvink in Bastin and Roolvink 1964 p 242-243.

(2) *Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan kelakuan segala khalifah dan segala raja yang dahulu kala dan segala kisah mereka itu supaya mengambil ibarat dan insaf segala yang budiman pada menengar dia -*

Chapter two concerns the conduct of the Caliphs and the kings of former times, relating their stories so that the wise who listen to them may derive a lesson and awareness.

Nuruddin ar-Raniri subdivides this chapter into five distinct sections:

1. Stories of Umar ibn al-Khattab
2. Stories of Sultan Sulaiman ibn Abd al-Malik and stories of his grandson Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz
3. Stories of Harun ar-Rasyid and his family
4. Stories of just kings
5. Stories of infidel kings who were just.

This chapter contains only one reference to other material elsewhere in the *Bustan us-Salat*. After the stories of Harun ar-Rasyid, Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

God willing we will relate further about him in the book concerning the generous.<sup>63</sup>

There are further stories concerning Harun ar-Rasyid in Book VI Chapter 1 and one story in Chapter 2.

(3) *Fasal yang ketiga pada menyatakan menjadikan kadi yang menghukumkan dengan hukum syariat -* Chapter three concerns the appointment of the Kadi who will apply Muslim law.

(4) *Fasal yang keempat pada menyatakan peri menjadikan wazir dan hulubalang serta dengan syarat mereka itu -* Chapter four concerns the appointment of viziers and captains together with their duties.

(5) *Fasal yang kelima pada menyatakan peri utusan dan segala syarat mereka itu -* Chapter five concerns envoys and their duties.

---

<sup>63</sup>Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 p 425 *Insya Allah Taala lagi akan diceriterakan fakir pada bab al-sakhawat.*

(6) *Fasal yang keenam pada menyatakan peri katib dan segala perintahnya* - Chapter six concerns scribes and their duties.

#### 1.1.4 BOOK IV

The title of this book is given as:

Book four concerns the conduct of ascetic kings and concerns the conduct of the pious saints of God. The book contains two chapters.<sup>64</sup>

The book can be found in the following manuscripts:

1. Raffles Malay MS no 8.
2. Raffles Malay MS no 42.
3. Kuala Lumpur MS no 41.
4. Jakarta MS ML 286D (now missing).
5. Malayo-Polynésien MS no 275 in Paris (only extracts from the earlier part of the book).<sup>65</sup>

The chapters of this book are as follows:

(1) *Bermula fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang bertapa yang meninggalkan dunia pada jaman dahulu kala karena mengikut kerelaan Allah Taala* - Chapter one concerns the conduct of ascetic kings who forsook this world in former times to follow the wishes of God Most High.

Nuruddin ar-Raniri divides this chapter into two parts. The first deals with stories of the ascetic Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham<sup>66</sup> and the

---

<sup>64</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 265 *Bermula bab yang keempat pada menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang bertapa dan menyatakan kelakuan segala aulia Allah yang saleh-saleh. Dalamnya itu dua fasal.*

<sup>65</sup>The manuscripts containing Book IV are described fully in Jones 1974 p 5-8; the *Serat Nawawi* is a Javanese verse translation of this and Book V, Add 12305 is a manuscript of this lodged at the British Library, London (Voorhoeve 1961 p 481-482).

<sup>66</sup>Jones 1974 is a critical edition of this section.

second deals with stories of ascetic kings.

(2) *Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan kelakuan segala aulia Allah yang dahulu kala* - Chapter two concerns the conduct of the saints of God in former times.

This chapter contains one reference to future material in the work. After mentioning Abdullah ibn Mubarak, the author comments:

We will relate more stories about him in the book concerning the generous.<sup>67</sup>

There are further stories in Book VI Chapter 1 of Abdullah ibn Mubarak.

Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* follows the pattern of Book III in using an episode or story to illustrate correct conduct. The story is then followed by a comment expounding the moral that should be drawn from the tale (*nasihat*) and/or quotations from the Quran, *hadith* or theologians illustrating the same theme.

#### 1.1.5 BOOK V

The title of the fifth book of the *Bustan us-Salatin* is given as:

Book five concerns the conduct of oppressive kings and unjust viziers who commit treason against their kings. The book contains two chapters.<sup>68</sup>

Book five is contained in the following manuscripts:

1. Raffles Malay MS no 8 (only a few pages of Chapter 1).
2. Raffles Malay MS no 42.
3. Kuala Lumpur MS no 41.

---

<sup>67</sup> Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 313 *Lagi akan diceriterakan fakir ceriteranya pada bab sakhawat.*

<sup>68</sup> Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 341 *Bab yang kelima itu menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang lalim dan segala wasir yang aniaya lagi berbuat khianat akan rajanya. Ada dalamnya itu dua fasal.*

4. Leiden KL 14.

5. Jakarta Alg Secretarie 67 (missing)<sup>69</sup>.

The chapters of this book are:

(1) *Adapun fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang aniaya pada masa yang dahulu kala* - Chapter one concerns the conduct of the oppressive kings of former times.

(2) *Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan segala wazir yang lalim pada masa jaman yang dahulu kala lagi menolong dia seperti aniaya mereka itu yang kena bahaya dunia dan akhirat* - Chapter two concerns the unjust viziers of former times and those who assist them in oppression, incurring the dangers of this world and the next.

At the beginning of Chapter 2 Nuruddin ar-Raniri notes that he has written of just viziers and will now discuss the oppressive viziers. The teaching concerning just viziers is in Book III Chapter 4.

Nuruddin ar-Raniri also comments that he has already related the story of the *perdana menteri* of Raja Mutasim, which is in fact in the preceding chapter of this book.

This book uses the same technique of grouping stories of different kings and others who illustrate his teaching. Similarly each of the stories is followed by a comment and/or quotation from the Quran, *hadith* or Islamic scholar.

#### 1.1.6 BOOK VI

The title of this book is as follows:

Book six concerns the conduct of magnanimous and noble men and of brave and gallant men. The book contains two chapters.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup>The manuscripts are described in Voorhoeve 1955 p 154-155.

<sup>70</sup>Leiden Cod Or 1694 p 1 *Bab yang keenam pada menyatakan kelakuan segala orang yang murah lagi yang mulia-mulia dan segala orang yang berani lagi perkasa, yaitu dua fasal.*

Book VI is contained in the following manuscripts:

1. Leiden Cod Or 1973 (unreadable because of the oxidation of the ink on the paper).
2. Leiden Cod Or 1694 (a copy of Leiden Cod Or 1973).
3. Leiden Cod Or 1974 (also a copy of Leiden Cod Or 1973)<sup>71</sup>.

The chapters of the book are:

(1) The actual title of this chapter which concerns the deeds of magnanimous men is confused in both Leiden Cod Or 1694 and Cod Or 1974. It seems likely that in the two manuscripts there is a haplograph on the word *pertama*.

The chapter mentions material that has been dealt with elsewhere: After commenting on Raja Nusyirwan of Benua Ajam, Nuruddin ar-Raniri adds:

His story has already been cited in the chapter concerning just rulers.<sup>72</sup>

There are many stories concerning Raja Nusyirwan in Book III Chapter 2.

(2) *Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan fadilat perang sabil Allah dan pada menyatakan ghaza Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) dan ghaza segala sahabat (radi Allah anhum) dan pada menyatakan setengah dari-pada perang segala raja-raja yang dahulu kala serta dengan segala ayat perintah mereka itu* - Chapter two concerns the excellence of the Holy War in the cause of God and concerns the expeditions of the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) and the expeditions of the companions (may God be pleased with them) and concerns some of the battles of kings of former times including the orders given by them.

---

<sup>71</sup>Voorhoeve 1955 p 155; he notes that Raffles Malay 17 (1) and Cod Or 1918 contain episodes quoting the words of Lukman al-Hakim, Aisyah and Imam Syafii, and says it is not clear whether these episodes are part of Book VI and VII. As the subject matter of these sayings concerns discussions on intellect (*akal*) they appear to be more likely part of Book VII Chapter 1 which deals with that topic.

<sup>72</sup>Leiden Cod Or 1694 p 24 *Seperti yang telah tersebut ceriteranya pada fasal segala raja-raja yang adil*.

Chapter 2 is clearly divided into three subsections by Nuruddin ar-Raniri:

1. On the excellence of Holy War
2. On the conquests of the Prophet
3. On the conquests of the companions and kings of former times including the orders given by them for battle.

Like Book IV, the stories in this book are followed by a comment and/or quotation from the Quran, *hadith* or Islamic scholar.

#### 1.1.7 BOOK VII

The title of the final book of the *Bustan us-Salatin* is:

Book seven concerns intellect and science and their excellence; and concerns the science of physiognomy, anatomy and medicine; and concerns the conduct of women and relates some wonderful and strange stories. The book contains four chapters.<sup>73</sup>

The title of this book and some of the chapters vary slightly according to the manuscript consulted. The final book of the work is called *Bustan ul-arifin* in Leiden Oph 119 and Cod Or 6719 (2); and possibly other manuscripts. It may be noted that Leiden Cod Or 1694 of the *Bustan us-Salatin* Book VI refers to that book as *Hikayat bunga rampai*.<sup>74</sup> It seems likely that alternative or mistaken titles for different books have arisen with time. The number of chapters attributed to Book VII in most versions is five<sup>75</sup> although not more than four are mentioned at the beginning of the book itself. The discrepancy may have arisen because of an error in the preface to the *Bustan us-Salatin* itself on which scholars have based their lists

---

<sup>73</sup>Leiden KL 67d *Bab yang ketujuh pada menyatakan akal dan ilmu dan kemuliaan keduanya; dan menyatakan ilmu firasat dan kiasat dan ilmu tasyrih dan ilmu tabib; dan setengah daripada kelakuan segala perempuan dan setengah daripada hikayat ajaib dan gharib. Dalamnya empat fasal.*

<sup>74</sup>Juynboll 1899 p 218      <sup>75</sup>Voorhoeve 1955 p 155.

of the books of the work. There the number of chapters is given in every case as five<sup>76</sup>. The manuscripts of Book VII consulted all agree on the number and title of all the individual chapters, making it very unlikely that either a chapter is missing from this book or that a chapter heading has been lost within the book.

This book of the *Bustan us-Salatin* is the only one to be mentioned in any other work by Nuruddin ar-Raniri. In the *Asrar al-insan fi makrifat al-ruh wa'l-rahman* when discussing intelligence (*akal*) he notes:

The marks of intelligence have already been mentioned in the work *Bustan us-Salatin* in book seven.<sup>77</sup>

The subject of intelligence is dealt with in the first chapter of Book VII.

Book VII appears to have been the most copied of the books of the *Bustan us-Salatin* if the number of manuscripts are an accurate gauge of its popularity. Book VII is contained in:

1. Berlin Schoemann V, 7<sup>78</sup>
2. Berlin Schoemann V, 36<sup>79</sup>
3. Brussels 21514<sup>80</sup>
4. Jakarta Bat Gen 286C
5. Jakarta Bat Gen 310 Mal
6. Leiden Cod Or 1918 (2)
7. Leiden Cod Or 2199 (1)
8. Leiden Cod Or 3234 (1)
9. Leiden KL 67d
10. Leiden Cod Or 6673
11. Leiden Oph 119
12. Leiden Cod Or 6719 (2)
13. London Raffles Malay MS no 17 (1)

---

<sup>76</sup> See Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 5, no 42 p 5 and Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 p 6.

<sup>77</sup> Tudjimah 1961 p 125 *Adalah pula beberapa daripada perkataan akal itu telah kami sebutkan dalam kitab Bustan us-Salatin pada bab yang ketujuh.*

<sup>78</sup> Snouck Hurgronje 1889 p 258. <sup>79</sup> Snouck Hurgronje 1889 p 260.

<sup>80</sup> Van Ronkel 1908 p 516-517.



14. London Raffles Malay MS no 70 (1)
15. London SOAS 36500
16. Paris Mal-Pol 28
17. Paris Mal-Pol 273
- (18. Leiden KL 179 - To judge from the description of this manuscript, it appears to be a version of Book VII in poetry<sup>81</sup>.)

There appears to be some discrepancy regarding the ending of the final chapter of Book VII. Voorhoeve states that Raffles Malay MS no 70 (1) appears to be the most complete text<sup>82</sup>. From the manuscripts consulted and the catalogues, it appears that the following manuscripts all end at the same point - a story of Sultan Mamun ar-Rasyid and his vizier Fudail ibn Abbas: Brussels 21514, Raffles Malay MS no 17 (1), Raffles Malay MS no 70 (1), SOAS 36500 and Leiden Oph 119. It is possible that other manuscripts in the list also terminate at this point producing complete versions.

The four chapters of Book VII are:

(1) *Fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan ilmu dan akal dan kemuliaan dan martabat keduanya dan menyatakan peri kebajikan<sup>83</sup> dan kejahatan segala manusia* - Chapter one concerns science and intelligence and their nobility and rank, and concerns the goodness and wickedness of men.

(2) *Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan ilmu firasat<sup>84</sup>* - Chapter two concerns physiognomy.

This chapter contains a reference to material in the following chapter. Mentioning the higher state of the internal in relation to the external self, Nuruddin ar-Raniri comments:

God willing we will discuss this further in the chapter concerning medicine.<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup>Van Ronkel 1921 p 83.      <sup>82</sup>Voorhoeve 1955 p 155.

<sup>83</sup>some manuscripts *kejadian*.

<sup>84</sup>All the manuscripts consulted agree on the title of this chapter.

<sup>85</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 70 (1) and no 17 (1) *Insyah Allah Taala lagi akan disebutkan fakir pada fasal ilmu tabib*.

The following chapter (3) deals with medicine. Chapter 2 is divided into two sections, the second section dealing with tales of wise men who have been enlightened by God Most High.

(3) *Fasal yang ketiga pada menyatakan ilmu tasyrih dan ilmu tabib dan barang yang takluk kepadanya serta dengan beberapa hikayat yang muna-sabah dengan dia*<sup>86</sup> - Chapter three concerns the sciences of anatomy and medicine and related matters including several stories that are pertinent.

The chapter is divided into three sections:

1. Concerning anatomy
2. Concerning medicine
3. Stories that are apposite.

(4) *Fasal pada menyatakan fadilat nikah dan peri kelakuan segala perempuan daripada kebajikan dan kejahatan dan menyatakan berapa daripada segala hikayat yang ajaib-ajaib lagi gharib yang menimbulkan kesukaan hati segala yang membaca dan yang mendengarkan dia lagi mengambil ibarat dengan dia segala yang melihat dengan mata hatinya*<sup>87</sup> -

Chapter concerning the excellence of marriage and the conduct of women both good and bad. Wonderful and strange stories are told which arouse delight for those who read and hear them and enable a lesson to be drawn for those who see them in the inner heart.

Like Book VI, the stories in this book are followed by a comment or teaching and/or quotation from the Quran, *hadith* or Islamic scholar.

---

<sup>86</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 70 (1) p 51.

<sup>87</sup>SOAS 36500 p 52A.

1.2 NOTES ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE *BUSTAN US-SALATIN*

The composition of the *Bustan us-Salatin* is described by a comparison of the work with the models upon which it was based. As shown in the preceding book analyses, the basic method used by Nuruddin ar-Raniri to impart his teaching in the *Bustan us-Salatin* is to group tales from different sources under the appropriate chapter heading. The use of the *nasihat* and quotations from the Quran and *hadith* form an ordered method establishing the links between stories of otherwise unconnected characters. The technique is highly developed as each category has its own proper devices for imparting knowledge, good advice or spiritual benefit. This technique implies greater planning and organization of source material than would be needed if stories were related and different morals drawn from each.

As is usual in a moral tale, the narration or plot is subordinated to the conveyance of a moral lesson. Thus for Nuruddin ar-Raniri the characters and incidents are not presented for their own sake, but are contrived in such a way that a profitable lesson may be derived from them. To this end characters are not individual and may remain anonymous, being referred to simply as 'a man' or 'a king'. In the use of these tales Nuruddin ar-Raniri only rarely leaves the reader to deduce the moral; usually the teaching is pointed out explicitly.

In order to convey these moral tales, Nuruddin ar-Raniri makes use of several literary devices. One of the most frequently used in the *Bustan us-Salatin* is that of the inscribed plaque. For example in one story in Book IV Chapter 1 it is used several times to indicate that the occupants of a palace had died because of their misdeeds. There the inscriptions serve as permanent bearers of advice. Although a clumsy literary device, it is frequently found in Islamic literature<sup>88</sup>, being used to furnish edifying prose. In the *Bustan us-Salatin* a story is used to elucidate a sole moral principle and seems never to be used for a multiplicity of lessons.

---

<sup>88</sup>Gerhardt 1963 p 206-207.

Nuruddin ar-Raniri also follows the Islamic tradition in the structure of individual stories. Unlike certain western literary forms where stories are composed to provide a final climax, one often finds that there is a decline in the momentum of the stories of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. The third feature which indicates that the work clearly follows the Islamic tradition is the value that it places on authenticity. A source of a story or tradition is always cited with the words *kata...*; in the places where Nuruddin ar-Raniri cannot name an exact source the words *kata sahibul hikayat* (the storyteller relates) are used. This authentication is not just of importance for the quotations from the *hadith* but also in the individual tales being used to illustrate a teaching. There emerges clearly the principle that authentication is more important than originality.

The identification of the *Bustan us-Salatin* as belonging to the genre of *adab* literature, best defined by Brakel as "Court literature providing anecdotal instruction"<sup>89</sup>, has been recognized since the early studies of the work. More recent studies have been preoccupied with the Persian influences on Malay forms of literary expression<sup>90</sup>. Marrison's investigation led him to the conclusion that:

Nur-al-din borrowed the title, inspiration and arrangement of material from the *Bustan* (and perhaps the *Gulistan*) of Sa'di of Shiraz (1184-1291).<sup>91</sup>

Although the two *Bustan* bear the same title, the suggestion that Nuruddin ar-Raniri's *Bustan us-Salatin* owes its "inspiration and arrangement of material" to Sa<sup>c</sup>dī of Shīrāz invites further discussion. The *Būstān* of Sa<sup>c</sup>dī is, as Marrison notes, a work in verse divided into ten chapters. However the chapters are devoted far more to teachings relevant to an individual's personal conduct<sup>92</sup> than is the *Bustan us-Salatin* of Nuruddin ar-Raniri. The *Gulistān* of Sa<sup>c</sup>dī shows greater similarities with Nuruddin ar-Raniri's work. It follows a similar style: The text or story is followed by a quotation from the Quran, then a couplet. The Arabic quotations are explained

---

<sup>89</sup>Brakel 1969-70 p 8.

<sup>90</sup>Marrison 1955 p 52-69; Brakel 1969-70 p 1-16.

<sup>91</sup>Marrison 1955 p 62.

<sup>92</sup>Levy 1969 p 117.

in Persian<sup>93</sup>. A story in Book III of Nuruddin ar-Raniri's work (of a king and a slave who had never seen the sea) may be derived from the *Gulistān* or from a work that used the *Gulistān* of Sa<sup>c</sup>dī as a source itself. The poem in Persian in Book IV is derived from the *Bustān* of Sa<sup>c</sup>dī.

Further information relevant to this discussion can be found in a recent analysis of Muslim education in Gujerat from the 13th to the 18th centuries. Quraishi notes that at a *maktab* a child was given the *Pand-nāmah* of Sa<sup>c</sup>dī as an aid to learning to read but that the first book he was taught to understand was the *Gulistān* of Sa<sup>c</sup>dī, followed by the *Bustān*<sup>94</sup>. If Nuruddin ar-Raniri had received his elementary education in Ranir (modern Rander, Gujerat), then it would appear likely that he was acquainted with both the *Bustān* and *Gulistān* of Sa<sup>c</sup>dī at an early age. There is no evidence for Nuruddin ar-Raniri having directly used a substantial amount of material in the Persian language as a source in the *Bustan us-Salatin*, although there is one poem in Persian in Book IV. It can be assumed that, in so far as he drew on sources in Persian, he would have used them in Arabic translation.

One possible source of inspiration for the structure and content of the *Bustan us-Salatin* that has not been previously discussed is al-Ghazzālī. Apart from many general remarks in the Malay *Bustan us-Salatin* acknowledging material to Imam Ghazali (*Kata Imam Ghazali*), there are some more specific references to his works:

(A) In Book VII Chapter 4 (concerning women) there are three references which run:

Imam Ghazali (may God hallow his secret) said in the book  
Ihya ulum al-din.<sup>95</sup>

(B) In Book II Chapter 2 the reference:

Thus Imam Ghazali (may God hallow his secret) said in the book

---

<sup>93</sup>The comments in this section are based on the translation of Platt 1889.

<sup>94</sup>Quraishi 1972 p 106.

<sup>95</sup>SOAS MS 36500 p 56A, 57A and 60A *Kata Imam Ghazali (kadasa Allah sirahu) di dalam kitab Ihya ulum al-din*.

called *Nasihat al-muluk*.<sup>96</sup>

These references indicate that Nuruddin ar-Raniri was acquainted with and used as sources at least two of the works of al-Ghazzālī: *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and *Nasihat al-mulūk*. From a brief examination, it appears that a great deal of the material in the *Bustan us-Salatin* was derived from these two works (especially material in Books III, IV, V and VII).

When the titles of the sections of the *Nasihat al-mulūk* are compared with certain chapters of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, a possible model for certain parts of the work emerges:

*Nasihat al-mulūk* (pt II)<sup>97</sup>

*Bustan us-Salatin*

1. On qualities required in kings.	Bk III Ch 1 Appointment of kings and their duties and followers.
2. On wazirate and characters of wazirs.	Bk III Ch 4 Appointment of viziers and captains.
3. On art of the pen and function of secretaries.	Bk III Ch 6 Scribes and their duties.
4. On magnanimity in kings.	Bk VI Ch 1 On magnanimous kings.
5. Citing Aphorisms of sages.	
6. On intelligence and intelligent persons.	Bk VII Ch 1 On intelligence.
7. On women and their good and bad points.	Bk VII Ch 4 On the excellence of marriage and on the good and bad in women.

Table 2 Comparison of the chapter headings in the *Nasihat al-mulūk* and the *Bustan us-Salatin*

Both the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and the *Nasihat al-mulūk* are well-known

<sup>96</sup> Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 98 ...demikianlah diceriterakan Imam Ghazali (kadasa Allah sirahu) dalam kitab karangan yang bernama *Nasihat al-mulūk*.

<sup>97</sup> The chapter headings in Bagley 1971 are used.

in the Malay-speaking world. Van den Berg notes that the *Ihya'* *ʿulūm al-dīn* is much used in the Archipelago<sup>98</sup>. At least one manuscript of a full Malay translation of the entire *Nasīhat al-mulūk* exists<sup>99</sup>. It is a possibility that just as the *Taj us-Salatin* was compiled using Persian sources in 1603 and possibly had a Persian model, and the *Hikayat Aceh* used as its model the *Akhbarnama*<sup>100</sup>, so the *Bustan us-Salatin* may have found inspiration in the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*.

The similarity in composition of the *Bustan us-Salatin* and the works of al-Ghazzālī, especially the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*, may however be merely superficial, due to the fact that in *adab* literature a principle or subject is always illustrated by anecdotes, aphorisms, verses from the Quran and *hadith* and other learned men. Further comparison of the structure of the two works may reveal a stronger correlation.

#### 1.2.1 THE STRUCTURAL HOMOGENEITY OF THE *BUSTAN US-SALATIN* IN ITS PRESENT FORM

The structural homogeneity of the *Bustan us-Salatin* is examined using the book by book and chapter by chapter analyses of the preceding sections. An examination of the structure of the *Bustan us-Salatin* leads to an observation of considerable interest. Three chapters of the work (Chapters 11, 12 and 13 of Book II) display certain inconsistencies when compared to the structure and content of the rest of the work (Section 1.1.2). The structural analysis reveals four features which distinguish these chapters from the rest of the work and may be itemized as follows:

- (A) The lack of *adab* literary structure
- (B) The use of local sources

---

<sup>98</sup>Van den Berg 1886 p 547.

<sup>99</sup>Edinburgh University Dc.6.73-74, described on p 120 of the Ricklefs and Voorhoeve catalogue (1977).

<sup>100</sup>Iskandar 1967 p 49-50.

- (C) The literary style of the three chapters
- (D) Vocabulary

(A) The lack of *adab* literary structure

As has been noted, the structure normally used by Nuruddin ar-Raniri in the *Bustan us-Salatin* is that each anecdote is followed by words of advice and/or quotations from the Quran and *hadith*. This pattern is not used in Chapters 11, 12 and 13 of Book II.

It is likely that the function of Chapters 1-10 of Book II is to introduce the historical background of kings who are to be used as exemplars of conduct, desirable or otherwise, in the later books of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. These chapters contain numerous references to future material. The last three chapters of Book II stand apart as clearly not fulfilling this function. There are no references in Chapters 11, 12 and 13 to material contained in future books apart from one reference in Chapter 12 relating to Chapter 13.

(B) Use of local sources

Chapters 12 and 13 of Book II are the only ones of the *Bustan us-Salatin* to display evidence of the inclusion of local sources into the work. It has been argued by commentators in the past that the *Bustan us-Salatin* may have drawn materials from the Malay *Taj us-Salatin* (or vice versa); this argument is based on close similarities between passages in the two works. This close relationship was apparent to the copyists and compilers of manuscripts, shown by the fact that many of the codices of books of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, and especially Book VII, are followed by complete manuscripts or chapters of the *Taj us-Salatin*. However there is no evidence of actual borrowings in either of the texts and the close similarity can be accounted for by the fact that they were both written in the same literary genre drawing on similar sources. This is emphasized by the fact that where the same stories are used in both works, they are used for a different purpose, to elucidate different teachings.

Although Persian *adab* literature was intended to influence the current political thought and action<sup>101</sup>, it is debatable how relevant

---

<sup>101</sup> Bagley 1971 p x.



the examples in the *Bustan us-Salatin* and the *Taj us-Salatin* were to the contemporary local political situation. They both seem to be more concerned with an ideal of behaviour than a specific situation. It is to be questioned whether there would be any place in such a work for material derived from Malay chronicles.

Chapter 12 of Book II explicitly acknowledges as its source the version of the *Sulalatus-Salatin* (*Sejarah Melayu*) compiled in 1612 AD:

Bendahara Paduka Raja composed the book *Sulalatus-Salatin* hearing it from his father who heard it from his grandfather, said...<sup>102</sup>

Chapter 13, like Chapter 11, acknowledges no source; this is an unusual feature and does not follow the pattern of the previous chapters and the rest of the work where each chapter quotes several named sources and authorities.

The material in Chapter 13 clearly has some affinity with that in the *Hikayat Aceh*, although the exact relationship between the two texts has not yet been clearly defined. It is however known that the author of Chapter 13 did not make direct use of the *Hikayat Aceh*<sup>103</sup>. It is likely that there existed a body of knowledge about the early history of Aceh from which the *Hikayat Aceh* and the author of Chapter 13 of the *Bustan us-Salatin* both drew material. Teuku Iskandar argues that this was a written source<sup>104</sup>.

An examination of the indigenous sources used by Nuruddin ar-Raniri in his other works throws some light on the way he used these sources. The most obvious example is his detailed knowledge of and involvement in the current religious polemics<sup>105</sup>. These religious polemics were confined to a very small group of individuals and a narrow field of discussion. It was a debate that was abstracted from life and even the politics of the court of Aceh and does not

---

<sup>102</sup>Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 221 *Kata Bendahara Paduka Raja yang mengarang kitab Sulalatus-Salatin ia menengar daripada bapanya ia menengar daripada neneknya dan datoknya.*

<sup>103</sup>Iskandar 1967 p 53. <sup>104</sup>Iskandar 1976 p 96.

<sup>105</sup>Voorhoeve (ed) 1955.

imply a detailed knowledge of the current and past events in Aceh.

In another work Nuruddin ar-Raniri makes reference to local affairs, namely in the *Sirat al-mustakim* written between 1044 and 1054 AH. It is in this work that the author denounces the *Hikayat Seri Rama* and *Hikayat Indraputra*:

It is not proper to cleanse oneself with something which is respected according to the canon law, such as bones and undyed leather and other things, but it is proper to cleanse oneself with books which are useless according to the canon law, such as *Hikayat Seri Rama* and *Indraputra* and other *hikayats* as well, unless they contain the name of God.<sup>106</sup>

A denunciation of the *Hikayat Indraputra* also occurs in certain manuscripts of Chapter 24 of the *Taj us-Salatin*<sup>107</sup>. This coincidence was investigated and suggests that later interpolation by copyists has occurred in certain manuscripts of the *Taj us-Salatin*.

A third work of Nuruddin ar-Raniri that contains reference to local conditions is the *Hadhiyat al-habib fi't-targhib wa't-tarhib* which he wrote in 1045 AH<sup>108</sup>. It is a collection of *hadith* in Arabic with Malay translations appended on a wide variety of topics. In this there is a condemnation of men who although unmarried live with

---

<sup>106</sup> *Dan tiada harus bersuci dengan sesuatu benda yang dihormati pada syarak, seperti tulang dan kulit yang belum disamak atau barang sebagainya, tetapi harus istinja dengan kitab yang tiada berguna pada syarak seperti Hikayat Seri Rama dan Indraputra dan barang sebagainya, jika tiada dalamnya nama Allah.* (Leiden Cod Or 7261 p 35); the denunciation is also contained in at least the following manuscripts of the *Sirat*: SOAS 7124, Leiden Cod Or 2226, Cod Or 3278, Cod Or 7288, Cod Or 7323, Cod Or 2223, Cod Or 5834, Cod Or 7591 and Jakarta Bat Gen 104.

<sup>107</sup> Voorhoeve 1973 p 45; the manuscripts which have been found to contain similar denunciations are: Paris Mal-Pol 28, Leiden Cod Or 1918(B), Cod Or 3234(B) and KL 67d. The other manuscripts contain a recommendation not to read *hikayats* but to read works such as the Quran, *Bustan us-Salatin*, *Sifat as-Salatin*, *Nasihah al-muluk* and *Sifat al-muluk*.

<sup>108</sup> Voorhoeve 1955 p 153.

women as wives and whose children even produce grandchildren<sup>109</sup>.

A preliminary comparison of these works indicates that apart from religious polemics, Nuruddin ar-Raniri displays a marked lack of detailed knowledge of, or interest in, the past or present situation in Aceh in his works other than the two long chapters on local history in Book II of the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

Another feature distinguishing these three chapters is inconsistency in the use of sources. For example, Chapter 12 contains a story of Raja Suran being let down into the sea in a glass box. The motif for this story is clearly borrowed from the Iskandar stories. It is unlikely that Nuruddin ar-Raniri would have adapted such material into a narrative purporting to be a Malay history.

(C) The literary style of the three chapters

When Chapters 11-13 of Book II are compared to the other chapters of the same book, and also with the remainder of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, a noticeable difference in literary style can be discerned. The earlier chapters of Book II show influence in syntax and style resulting from their translation, sometimes rather literally, from Arabic. It is difficult to subject Chapter 11 to a detailed analysis as the material is largely limited to a series of genealogies; however the narrative at the end of the chapter which can be compared more clearly with the material in Chapters 12 and 13 is found to have much in common with them. These chapters are written in a style more reminiscent of the *Hikayat Aceh*, *Hikayat Raja Pasai* or the *Sejarah Melayu*.

A comparison of the literary style of these three chapters with that of the remainder of the *Bustan us-Salatin* shows more influence of the Malay narrative technique in the former. More use is made of passive verbal forms, and the direct speech in the narrative, in contrast with the direct speech quoted elsewhere in the work which

---

<sup>109</sup> p 306 of the printed edition entitled *al-Fawā'id al-bahīya* in the margin of *Jam' al-fawā'id* by al-Fatani circa 1960; also present in Leiden Cod Or 3288 p 60B, a manuscript of the work.

displays influence from its Arabic original, is full of Malay idiom. There is also an apparent difference in the way quotations from the Quran and *hadith* are translated. Further investigation into the commentaries (*tafsir*) that were used by Nuruddin ar-Raniri in the *Bustan us-Salatin* could qualify these differences. The change in style could be accounted for by the fact that the author was using written Malay sources for at least part of these chapters. The literary style of those sources would undoubtedly influence him.

The differences in style between the material in these three chapters and that in the rest of the work constitute a major feature of this examination and examples of style in the three chapters are itemized for clarity:

a) In the use of similes that display influence of Malay syntax. The following three examples from Raffles Malay MS no 8 of Book II

Chapter 13 demonstrate this:

i) *Pada ketika itu segala manusia upama segala tumbuh-tumbuhan yang merasai panas yang amat sangat. Maka terdirilah payung daulatnya, maka beroleh naunglah sekalian mereka itu di bawahnya.* (page 245)

ii) *Dan adalah sukacita hati segala manusia upama segala bunga-bungahan yang kena rintik-rintik hujan pada ketika dini hari. Maka segala bunga-bungahan itupun kembanglah disemerbaklah baunya kepada segala pihak negeri.* (page 245)

iii) *Dan adalah kersik pulau itu terlalu elok rupanya, putih seperti kapur barus.* (page 249)

b) In the use of idioms that are stylistically Malay:

i) *Maka tiap-tiap segala makanan yang disantap itupun berlainanlah rasanya daripada yang sediakala.* (page 247)

ii) *Maka dianugerahai akan segala mereka itu ganda-bergandalah daripada adat harganya.* (page 248)

c) In the use of Malay poetry. Chapter 13 contains the famous poem in praise of Iskandar Thani. The word used to describe the poem is *rubai*, that is a quatrain. Elsewhere in the *Bustan us-Salatin*, Nuruddin ar-Raniri appears to quote Arabic couplets (*bait*) or quote a verse with the introductory words *seperti kata syair* (as the poet says). In the remainder of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, whenever Nuruddin ar-Raniri quotes Arabic verse, he makes no attempt to render the translation into Malay verse but merely gives a word by word prose

translation (examples of this can be found in Book IV Chapter 1). Instances of Malay poetry in Nuruddin ar-Raniri's other works are not prominent. It is possible that Nuruddin ar-Raniri's knowledge of Malay was insufficient to enable him to compose poetry.

#### (D) Vocabulary

The fourth feature that distinguishes the last three chapters of Book II from all other parts of the *Bustan us-Salatin* is that these chapters use words and expressions not found elsewhere in the work. There is also a tendency for these chapters to use a Nusantara word where an Arabic loan word would otherwise be used. Table 3 records words which appear to be peculiar to these chapters. In general it can be said that these chapters, especially 12 and 13, make use of a far wider range of vocabulary than does the remainder of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. The author(s) of them shows knowledge of specialized vocabulary with regard to descriptions of court regalia, musical instruments, jewelry and clothing, buildings, gardens and the flowers and fruits that grow in them.

In addition to these four main features which distinguish Chapters 11, 12 and 13 of Book II from the remainder of the work, further evidence reinforces this distinction. This is:

(E) Evidence from manuscripts

(F) Chronological evidence within Book II

#### (E) Evidence from manuscripts

The different manuscripts that contain the chapters of Book II are indicated in Table 1. In attempting to evaluate the material contained in the chapters, it is relevant to examine the relationship between the various manuscripts. A schematic representation of this relationship is as follows:

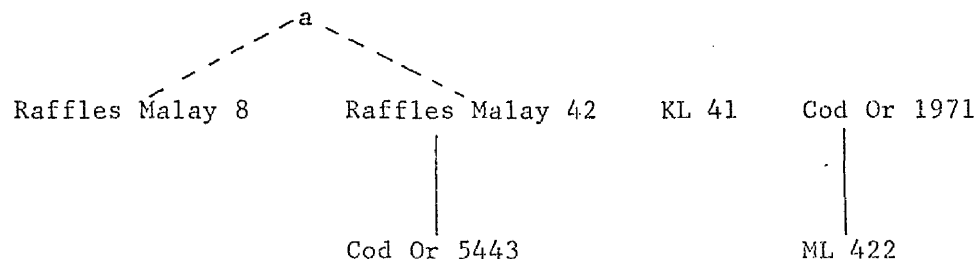


TABLE 3 A PROVISIONAL LIST OF WORDS FOUND IN CHAPTERS 11, 12 AND 13  
OF BOOK II WHICH DO NOT APPEAR ELSEWHERE IN THE *BUSTAN*  
*US-SALATIN*

<u>Words and terms found in</u> <u>Chapters 11, 12 and 13</u>	<u>Equivalent used elsewhere in the</u> <u><i>Bustan us-Salatin</i></u>
<i>mangat, hilang</i> used for death	elsewhere <i>mati</i> is the most frequently used word or an Arabic-derived phrase such as <i>kembali ke rahmatullah</i> .
<i>mati terbunuh</i> - to die a violent death	not used.
<i>mengamuk</i> - to run amuck	not used.
<i>timbang-timbangan</i> - pet-name	<i>lakab</i> .
<i>kerai</i> used only in Chapter 11 of Book II.	
<i>bonda</i> - mother	occasionally used in other parts of the work but more often <i>ibu</i> is used.
<i>kakanda</i> - grandfather	not used.
<i>nenenda</i> (or <i>nenda</i> ) - grandmother	not used.
<i>anakanda</i> (or <i>anakda</i> ) - child	<i>anak</i> .
<i>hulu sungai</i> - upriver	not used.
<i>teluk rantau</i> - territory	not used.
<i>rakyat</i> or <i>hina dina</i> - people	<i>orang</i> .
<i>miskin fakir</i> - poor and needy	<i>fakir miskin</i> .
<i>para</i> - used as plural marker	<i>segala</i> .
<i>santap</i> or <i>ayapan</i> - food	<i>makan</i> .
<i>gering</i> - illness	<i>sakit</i> .
<i>martabat yang amat besar</i> - high status	elsewhere the form <i>martabat yang amat tinggi</i> is more frequently found.

The close relationship between Raffles Malay MS no 8 and 42 can be shown from textual comparisons (further discussed in Section 2.6). Leiden Cod Or 5443 was copied from Raffles Malay MS no 42 and ML 422 was copied from Leiden Cod Or 1971. The relationship between a, Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 and Leiden Cod Or 1971 has yet to be established.

Table 1 indicates that from the textual evidence there is agreement in all the manuscripts regarding the titles and numbering of chapters up and including Chapter 10 of Book II. Evidence for the original existence of a further three chapters is based on only two traditions (a and Cod Or 1971), whilst another two traditions (Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 and the evidence from the Wilkinson edition which is included as a manuscript) include only one further chapter.

Why then were certain chapters omitted from some manuscripts? It has been argued by Teuku Iskandar<sup>110</sup> that the Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 omitted Chapter 12 of Book II (on the history of Malacca and Pahang) for political reasons as the manuscript had belonged to the Johore royal family. This argument does not account for the presumed non-existence of Chapter 12 in the manuscript that Wilkinson used for his edition. As early as 1920 Winstedt offered an explanation of the contents of Chapter 12:

Possibly some of the historical detail given in this passage has been added by a later hand.<sup>111</sup>

#### (F) Chronological evidence within Book II

The chronological information contained within Book II can be considered in two parts. The first relates to the time-span encompassed within each chapter. Table 4 lists the earliest and last dates which occur in each of the chapters of Book II<sup>112</sup>:

---

<sup>110</sup> Iskandar 1967 p 40.

<sup>111</sup> Winstedt 1920 (A) p 39.

<sup>112</sup> Dateable events are of no concern in the table, rather the actual dates mentioned at the beginning and end of each chapter; equally the accuracy of the dates is of no interest. The chapters before Chapter 8 appear to contain no dates.

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>EARLIEST DATE</u>	<u>LATEST DATE</u>
8	14 (635 AD)	42 (662 AD)
9	43 (663 AD)	132 (749 AD)
10	133 (750 AD)	309 (921 AD)
11	337 (948 AD)	1068 (1658 AD)
12	1021 (1612 AD)	1021 (1612 AD)
13	913 (1507 AD)	1088 (1677 AD)

Table 4 Earliest and latest dates occurring in the chapters of Book II

This table indicates that the author was attempting to sustain consistent chronological ordering throughout Book II including the last three chapters. Of these Chapter 11 appears to establish a time link between the 4th and 11th centuries AH. Chapters 11 and 12 contain the minimum number of dates consistent with the maintenance of chronological order whereas Chapters 8, 9, 10 and 13 contain many dates. The use of the length of kings' reigns in Chapter 11 to convey the time span instead of actual dates is an uncommon feature in Book II.

The chronological information of Book II appears to show that in respect of ordering Chapters 11, 12 and 13 were not entirely separate from the rest of the work; however they do show significant differences.

The second part of the chronological evidence relates to Nuruddin ar-Raniri's biographical details. It has always been recognized that Chapter 13 may contain material that was not originally inserted by Nuruddin ar-Raniri. Djajadiningrat<sup>113</sup> considered that the material between ca 1600 to ca 1680 was completely reliable. It is now known that Nuruddin ar-Raniri was expelled from Aceh in 1054 (1644 AD)<sup>114</sup>; by this time the *Bustan us-Salat* was complete.

---

<sup>113</sup>Djajadiningrat 1911 p 137. <sup>114</sup>Ito 1978 p 489-491.



Material relating to events after this time cannot be ascribed to Nuruddin ar-Raniri's authorship with any degree of reliability.

It is not generally recognized that Chapter 11 also contains material that is unlikely to have been inserted by Nuruddin ar-Raniri. For example the chapter ends with a panegyric of Sultan Aurangzeb who ascended to the throne in June 1658, Nuruddin ar-Raniri died in September 1658<sup>115</sup>. It is possible for him to have written this chapter in India, but highly unlikely. An examination of the tenses used in the cross-references within the *Bustan us-Salatin* displays no evidence for the work being written in non-consecutive order. The addition of the material described above would obviously breach that order.

#### 1.2.2 CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN ON THE STRUCTURE OF BOOK II

The analysis of the chapters of Book II of the *Bustan us-Salatin* show that the final three chapters diverge in various respects from the pattern of the preceding chapters. Differences occur in the structure, the incorporation of local material and the literary style. Examination of the vocabulary and the relationship between the extant manuscripts reveal parallel inconsistencies. These can be explained in one of the following ways.

1. Later material may have been added at the end of Chapters 11 and 13. The possibility of this occurring is supported by the fact that there is evidence for the insertion of later material in Nuruddin ar-Raniri's other works. He left instructions for a pupil to complete his work *Jawahir al-ulum fi kasyf al-maklum* when he returned to Rander in 1644<sup>116</sup>. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the same or another pupil added further material to certain chapters of Book II of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. If this had happened, discernable breaks or differences in style within either Chapter 11 or

---

<sup>115</sup>Voorhoeve 1959 p 90.

<sup>116</sup>Voorhoeve 1951 p 353-354.

Chapter 13 are likely to have occurred. These have not been observed. This may be due to the fact that textual inconsistencies have been removed by repeated copying by succeeding generations. Furthermore, there is no evidence in the other books of the *Bustan us-Salatīn* for suspecting that they contain later interpolations.

2. It is possible to envisage another, more radical, explanation for these inconsistencies in Book II. We cannot exclude the possibility that we are not faced with simple additions to Chapters 11, 12 and 13, but that these chapters themselves may have been inserted by another writer<sup>117</sup>. In other words, in its original form as composed by Nuruddin ar-Raniri, Book II had ten chapters not thirteen. At some later date, a writer thought it appropriate to include further chapters. If this surmise is correct, the additions were probably made not long after the work in its original form was completed, as no manuscripts have survived with only the nuclear ten chapters in Book II. Here it should be borne in mind that most of our manuscripts of Book II are from the 19th century.

Three 'additional chapters' occur in one group of manuscripts (shown in Section 1.2.1 and Table 1) and are: 11, a history of Hindustan; 12, a historical account deriving its material from the *Sejarah Melayu* and 13, an historical account of Aceh. In the other group of manuscripts of Book II (Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 and the Wilkinson manuscript) only one chapter was added, numbered 11, and contained the historical account of Aceh.

When these additional chapters were added to Book II, the introduction to this book must have been amended to include the allusion to the material of Chapter 13 which contains the material relating to Aceh. Support for the belief that some rewriting occurred is found in the occurrence of the word *tarikh* (history) in this introduction for, as has been observed, the word only occurs in the title of Chapter 1 which immediately follows the introduction to Book II and in the suspect Chapters 11, 12 and 13. All the manuscripts agree on

---

<sup>117</sup>This would accord with the idea of a Malay scribe being co-author, Van Ronkel 1900 p 309.

the use of the word *tarikh* and the titles of the chapters.

The most likely explanation, it is suggested, for the differences between the work as a whole and Chapters 11-13 of Book II, is that these chapters are not from the pen of Nuruddin ar-Raniri but are the work of a later scribe, perhaps a pupil of Nuruddin ar-Raniri. This would explain why the technique of composition is consistent throughout the *Bustan us-Salatîn* with the exception of Chapters 11-13 of Book II. This conclusion need not necessarily imply that the additional material, particularly the chapter on Aceh, is of diminished historical value. Nevertheless the value of these chapters cannot be based merely on the authorship of Nuruddin ar-Raniri, since inevitably they must be rejected as examples of his work.

## SECTION 2 - THE MANUSCRIPTS OF BOOK IV

### 2.1 MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING BOOK IV OF THE *BUSTAN US-SALATIN*

In selecting the section of the *Bustan us-Salatin* to be edited for the purposes of this thesis consideration was given to previous studies, in particular the work of Iskandar (1966) and Jones (1974). As outlined in Section 1.1, detailed studies can only be undertaken on a relatively small part of the work and therefore it was decided to complete Book IV, thus forming an edition covering this substantial part of the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

There are five manuscripts which contain Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. These are:

- A. Raffles Malay manuscript no 8 in the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- B. Raffles Malay manuscript no 42 in the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- C. Kuala Lumpur manuscript no 41 in the University of Malaya Library.
- D. Jakarta manuscript no 286D in the Museum Pusat.
- E. Malayo-Polynésien manuscript no 275 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

These manuscripts are described in the following sections.

### 2.1.1 MANUSCRIPT A: RAFFLES MALAY MS NO 8

This manuscript is described in the catalogue of Ricklefs and Voorhoeve<sup>1</sup>. The entire manuscript has 367 pages and the text ends abruptly in the middle of a story. The pages measure 33,5 x 20,0 cm and there are 21 lines to a page; as is usual in Muslim manuscripts there are an odd number of lines to the page. There is no date of copying mentioned within the text, but it is written on paper with a watermark dated 1807. Although the binding pages have a 1814 watermark, this is of little value in assessing the age of the manuscript. It would seem most likely, when the years Raffles was in Java are borne in mind, that the manuscript was copied around 1812.

Pages 277-341 have been used for the present edition. One of the most interesting features of this manuscript is the fact that most of the text, both Arabic and Malay, is fully pointed. This use of vowel points in the manuscript is discussed in the following sections.

### 2.1.2 USE OF VOWEL POINTS IN RAFFLES MALAY MS NO 8

Normally the copyists of Malay manuscripts did not make use of vowel points and thus a manuscript that is fully pointed is of special interest. This section examines the use of vowel points in Raffles Malay MS no 8 in two parts; firstly the signs used for the vowel points in the manuscript are investigated and secondly, the technique whereby they were inserted into the manuscript is discussed.

In general it can be said that, when used in Malay manuscripts, vowel points are used only in occasional words and that these vowel points tend not to be used consistently, although one can add that the fact that they are so rarely used in most manuscripts means that consistency is rather difficult to evaluate. It will be evident

---

<sup>1</sup>Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977 p 134.



that basing an edition of a text on a manuscript that is fully pointed is of particular value, especially where the use of the vowel points, as in Raffles Malay MS no 8, appears to be internally consistent.

Malay written in the Arabic script is in general far more ambiguous than Arabic, in that the short vowel possibilities for a given set of consonants are much greater in Malay. Editors of Malay manuscripts must often wish that the manuscripts had vowel points, as it would give them some idea of how the words were pronounced in the time and place when the manuscripts were written or copied. The greatest value of having a fully vowelised text is that it gives some indication of the pronunciation of the words. There is however a gap between the written and the spoken word. This is especially true of the words of Arabic and other foreign language origins where the original spelling tends to be retained regardless of the pronunciation of the area. Caution must therefore be exercised in the interpretation of the value of vowel signs in such words.

The vowel signs used in this manuscript are as follows:

- baris di atas* (*fatah*) representing the short /a/.
- baris di bawah* (*kasrah*) representing the short /i/.
- baris di depan* (*dammah*) representing the short /u/ or /o/.
- this sign is used for the /ə/ (*pěpět*) sound.
- tanda mati* (*sukun*) for no vowel. The *tanda mati* is also used above a *wau* or *ya* to indicate that it is a long vowel and not a consonant. According to Brakel<sup>2</sup> this usage may be of Persian origin. There are other signs used in Jawi such as the *maddah* over an *alif*, the *tasydid* (which in this manuscript seems to be used exclusively to indicate a doubled consonant) and the *angka-dua*; as these are used in non-vocalised Malay manuscripts (*Arab gundul*) and do not show any peculiarities in this manuscript, they will not be discussed.

Of all the vowel signs used in this manuscript, the most interesting is the sign        representing the *pěpět*. This sign can be clearly distinguished from both the *tasydid* and the *hamzah* in this manuscript. Lewis<sup>3</sup> states that there is no sign in Jawi for the *pěpět*;

---

<sup>2</sup>Brakel 1975 p 32.      <sup>3</sup>Lewis 1954 p 20.

and a more recent study by Naim has also noted that no attempt is made to indicate the *pěpět* in Malay<sup>4</sup>. However scribes inserting vowels into Malay texts have clearly adopted signs to express this sound. In many cases it would seem likely that the *baris di atas* is used to represent both the short /a/ and neutral /ə/ sounds. This practise is also used when Sulu is written, Cameron<sup>5</sup> notes that the Sulu *hata'as* (\_\_\_\_) is used to represent the intermediate vowel of Malay /ə/.

In the Malay manuscripts that use a specific sign for the *pěpět* it is found in various forms. Raffles Malay MS no 30<sup>6</sup> uses the sign \_\_\_\_\_. Leiden Cod Or 2016<sup>7</sup> uses a combination of a *baris di atas* above the line and a sign below, thus \_\_\_\_\_. ML 158 in the Museum Pusat, Jakarta, uses a sign which appears to resemble the *hamzah*, thus \_\_\_\_\_. However Pijper<sup>8</sup> who made use of a fully pointed Malay manuscript (Jakarta MS 300<sup>9</sup>) does not give the sign used but notes that it is the *pěpět* of the Sundanese and Javanese *pegon* scripts. As the *pěpět* sound is not used in Malay and is particularly rare in the final syllable of a Nusantara word, but is used extensively in Javanese, the need for such a vowel sign, its shape and its use indicates Javanese influence in the Malay.

Comparing the use of the sign \_\_\_\_\_ in Raffles Malay MS no 8 with its use in *pegon*, use has been made of a sample from three Sundanese texts (kindly supplied by Dr Henri Chambert-Loir). The texts are:

1. *Perukunan Sunda* by Haji Abdul-Rasyid Banjar, translated from Malay by Muhammad Hasan Basri Abdullah in 1932, published in Cirebon with 112 pages.
2. *Syair Kubur*, no author but published by Toko Kitab Sayid Muhammad bin Ali al-Idrus, Jakarta. It is not dated and has 8 pages.
3. *Naxam al-tajwid Sunda* published by Toko Cairo in Tasik Malaya, not dated and has 10 pages.

In the first two texts the /a/ and the /ə/ sounds tend to be represented by \_\_\_\_\_; the \_\_\_\_\_ is reserved for the Sundanese *eu* spelling,

<sup>4</sup>Naim 1971 p 139. <sup>5</sup>Cameron 1917 p 68. <sup>6</sup>Pusposaputro 1976.

<sup>7</sup>Juynboll 1899 p 271-273. <sup>8</sup>Pijper 1924 p 74. <sup>9</sup>Van Ronkel 1909 p 240-241.



only occasionally being used for /ə/. In the third text, although the \_\_\_\_\_ varies in its use, the *pegon* sign \_\_\_\_\_ is used for both /ə/ and the Sundanese *eu* spelling.

Little is known about the techniques adopted by the copyists of Malay manuscripts in their writings; one has to rely on internal evidence for a discussion on the technique used to insert the vowel points. It would seem likely that Arabic would be the model and in this case, where vowel points are inserted to avoid erroneous readings, they are put in word by word<sup>10</sup>.

In evaluating the technique adopted by the copyist of Raffles Malay MS no 8, it seems that the vowel points were inserted in any of the following ways: word by word, sentence by sentence (or clause by clause), line by line, page by page or after the completion of an entire non-pointed text. In the last possibility a different scribe may have added the vowel points after the original non-pointed text was written.

The internal evidence within Raffles Malay MS no 8 is contradictory. It is noticeable that mistakes in the text tend not to be pointed (eg page 278 line 19 and page 283 line 12). This fact however is of no assistance in trying to establish the method of vowelisation especially since the copyists of Malay manuscripts tried to be as neat as possible in their erasures.

More noticeable is the feature that whole lines have remained without vowel points in the text (eg page 289 line 1). Were these lines passed over in error when the vowel points were filled in on the remainder of the page? In parts of Raffles Malay MS no 8 half pages remain free of vowel points (eg page 54, page 195 and page 203), sometimes it is the top half, sometimes the bottom half. In these cases it has been observed that the vowel points may begin even in the middle of a sentence, indicating a rather haphazard method of insertion. It is possible that these may represent the earlier page divisions in the manuscript that the copyist of Raffles Malay MS no 8

---

<sup>10</sup> Hughes 1896 p 683-686; Mitchell 1966 p 12.

was using.

In addition to the half pages, Raffles Malay MS no 8 also has whole pages, either singly or consecutively, without vowel points (see especially pages 195-262) which would tend to indicate that these pages were passed over either in error or deliberately when the vowel points were inserted. A visual comparison of the density of the ink in the outline of the word and of the ink of the vowel points has been inconclusive. It is however noticeable that the Arabic quotations which are written in red have vowel points in black; this is not usual but does occur in other Malay manuscripts. This could possibly indicate their later insertion. If vowel points had been added to this manuscript at a later stage one would expect to find evidence of words which were misinterpreted and hence wrongly vowelised. There is however little of this within Raffles Malay MS no 8, and the only clear examples of wrongly vowelised words so far established occur on page 287 where *dagang* has been mistakenly vowelised to read *daging* and elsewhere *berisi* has been mistakenly vowelised to read *berasa*.

On balance the evidence would indicate that the manuscript is likely to have had the vowel points inserted after the original text was written. Were the vowel points put in by the same copyist or another? There is evidence according to Pijper<sup>11</sup> to indicate that the vowel points in Jakarta MS 300 were put in by another hand, but there is no positive evidence for this in Raffles Malay MS no 8. Raffles Malay MS no 8 shows considerable Javanese influence in its use of vowel points, but if these vowel signs are disregarded there is no evidence for the intrusion of Javanese words or Javanese forms of Malay words in the text.

To conclude it would appear that the vowel points in Raffles Malay MS no 8 were added after the original text was written, but there is no evidence to suggest that this was done by another hand.

In tracing the origins of the use of vowel points (*nuqat*) in Arabic

---

<sup>11</sup>Pijper 1924 p 74.

the Muslims by popular story follow Ibn Khallikān who tells the story of a man incorrectly reciting a verse of the Quran, when he asked for directions Abdu'l-Aswad said:

When you see me open (*fatah*) my mouth in pronouncing a letter place a point over it; when I close (*zamm*) my mouth, place a point before the letter; and when I pucker up (*kasar*) my mouth, place a point under the letter.<sup>12</sup>

While this story accounts for the continued practise of inserting vowel points into copies of the Quran, it does not explain why certain Malay texts were fully pointed and others not. Although from a sample of manuscripts using vowelisation it is noticeable that such manuscripts tend to be of a religious nature. In general one can say that in Malay, as in Arabic, the ideal was to obtain legibility without the addition of vowel points.

In addition to Raffles Malay MS no 8, there is another manuscript of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, Leiden Cod Or 1971, which also contains some vowelisation. According to Voorhoeve (private communication), the system used in the latter manuscript is very different from that used in Raffles Malay MS no 8. Unfortunately this manuscript is now in too bad a condition to be examined, but the existence of at least two vowelised manuscripts of the *Bustan us-Salatin* may indicate a tradition of vowelising this particular work. The identification of manuscripts with full vowel points has been hampered by the fact that most catalogues of Malay manuscripts do not note whether a manuscript is vowelised or not, making their recognition difficult.

There is however another possible explanation of the existence of vowel points in Raffles Malay MS no 8; they may have been inserted for the benefit of a person who could not read unvowelled Malay. The possibility exists that someone who was collecting manuscripts on behalf of Raffles, or even Raffles himself, asked for the vowel points to be inserted into a Malay text to enable it to be read. This theory can be supported by the fact that many of the British officers serving in the East India Company would have been familiar with both Arabic and Persian scripts and if given a fully vowelised Malay text would have known how to pronounce the words. This would

---

<sup>12</sup>Hughes 1896 p 682-683.

explain why there are two very similar texts in the Raffles collection, Raffles Malay MS no 8 and 42, one of the most obvious differences between them being the fact that unlike Raffles Malay MS no 42, Raffles Malay MS no 8 is fully vowelised. This would also explain the apparent haphazard method of inserting vowel points in the text.

### 2.1.3 A COMPARISON OF RAFFLES MALAY MS NO 8 WITH OTHER VOWELISED MALAY MANUSCRIPTS

The use of vowel points in a sample of Malay manuscripts has been investigated. The spelling of certain words is shown in Table 5. The table concentrates on the spelling of ordinary words and common grammatical forms rather than on specialised vocabulary.

Column 1 of the table gives the modern spelling of the word. Column 2 gives the form used in Raffles Malay MS no 8. Column 3 gives the form found in Leiden Cod Or 2016. Column 4, the form used in Raffles Malay MS no 30 and Column 5, the form found in a group of Cambridge manuscripts. After each form of the word in Column 5, the number of the manuscript is given. Column 6 makes use of a group of Jakarta manuscripts and again the actual source of a given form is named.

Al-Attas who has produced an edition of Hamzah Fansuri's *Syarabu'l Asyikin* based on Leiden Cod Or 2016 has no discussion on the vowelisation contained within that manuscript, although Juynboll commenting on this manuscript says:

Daar alle vocalen bij de consonanten geschreven zijn, is het merkwaardig, de toenmalige met de hedendaagsche uitspraak te vergelijken. De voor- en achtervoegsels bër, mën (mëng, mēm) en kan worden hier steeds bar, man (mang, mam) en kën geschreven.<sup>13</sup>

The manuscript was copied in 1116 (1704 AD) and because of a reference to a Sultan of Banten, it has become known as the 'Banten version'.

---

<sup>13</sup>Juynboll 1899 p 272.

The manuscript distinguishes between two kinds of *dal* (◌ڤ), one of which is spelt with three dots beneath (◌ڤ), an indication of Javanese influence. Thus *ada* is spelt with three dots under the *dal*, *dan* without, *daripada* with three dots under the first *dal* and likewise the passive indicator *di-*. The manuscript of the Hikayat Raja Pasai (Raffles Malay 67) also makes use of two kinds of *dal*.

When the vowelisation of Cod Or 2016 is compared to that in Raffles Malay MS no 8, it is noticeable that the vowel points have been inserted in a similar manner. Both manuscripts appear to display similar influences.

Raffles Malay MS no 30 has also been used for a critical edition<sup>14</sup> and contains some vowelised pages. The manuscript contains an account of the kings of Cirebon and is dated 1230 (1815 AD). The manuscript displays far more Javanese influence than the other two so far discussed. The text frequently uses Javanese words and not just Javanese forms of Malay words as has been found in Raffles Malay MS no 8 and Cod Or 2016. However with the words that can be compared in the texts, there emerges a similarity in the way the vowel points were inserted.

The two Cambridge Malay manuscripts used in the sample date from the early 17th century and the spelling used in them has been the subject of study by Van Ronkel (1896) and Shellabear (1898). The two manuscripts are: Ii.6.45 (a commentary on the 18th Sura of the Quran of which pages 3 and 4 are fully pointed) and Gg.6.40 (the Dutch-Malay vocabulary of Peter Floris compiled in Aceh). It would appear that these two manuscripts make use of a rather different system of vowelisation. No use is made of a specific sign for the *pěpět*, although the use of the *tasydid* in certain words has drawn some comment. When the words in Column 5 are compared to those in 2,3 and 4 which show Javanese influence, it is noticeable that this influence is absent from the Cambridge manuscripts.

The Jakarta manuscripts have not been read in any detail as most of

---

<sup>14</sup>Pusposaputro 1976.

them were only available in the form of photocopies of a few pages of each manuscript. The manuscripts are of the following texts:

- ML 19 - *Hikayat seribu masail*, dated 1258 (1842 AD), was numbered BC 300 and was used by Pijper<sup>15</sup>.  
 ML 64 - *Kutika dan Faal*, dated 1260 (1844 AD).  
 ML 100(B) - *Sejarah Tambusi*, dated 1272 (1855 AD).  
 ML 158 - *Pelayaran ke Makah*, no date.  
 ML 420 - *Syair-syair Melayu* with Javanese, Arabic and Persian fragments, the manuscript is not dated.  
 ML 446 - *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, dated 1190 (1776 AD). This is MS N in Brakel's edition<sup>16</sup>.

All the manuscripts display a tendency to retain a spelling that is closer to the language of origin, be it Sanscrit, Arabic or some other non-Indonesian language, rather than a Malay pronunciation of the time. Thus the form used in the manuscript for *firman* - *farmān* or *parman* closely resembles the Persian form *farmān*. The forms used for the following words in the manuscripts may also be noted: *atau*<sup>17</sup>, *ketika*<sup>18</sup>, *negeri*<sup>19</sup>, *neraka*<sup>20</sup>, *seteru*<sup>21</sup> and *surga*<sup>22</sup>.

It is also of interest that a *pěpět* sound in the modern language is sometimes represented by either the *baris di depan* or *wau* in the manuscripts. Raffles Malay MS no 50 and other manuscripts use the form *kuliling* for *keliling*<sup>23</sup>. This may represent an older pronunciation of the word as in certain manuscripts it is spelt *kūliling* and not *kuliling*.

Although incomplete, the data in the table can be used for comparative purposes with other vowelised manuscripts. In general it can be seen that the vowel points were not inserted in a haphazard fashion but seem to show internal consistency. The group of manuscripts that are the most noticeable in the table are those that make use of a specific sign for the *pěpět* and show Javanese influence. Using more

<sup>15</sup>Pijper 1924 p 74. <sup>16</sup>Brakel 1975 p 80. <sup>17</sup>Gonda 1973 p 119.

<sup>18</sup>Gonda 1973 p 99, p 118. <sup>19</sup>Gonda 1973 p 122. <sup>20</sup>Gonda 1973 p 98.

<sup>21</sup>Gonda 1973 p 123, p 623. <sup>22</sup>Gonda 1973 p 123, p 157, p 379.

<sup>23</sup>Winstedt 1939 p 75.

TABLE 5 SPELLING OF COMMON WORDS IN SOME VOWELISED MSS

Modern Spelling	Raffles Malay MS no 8	Leiden Cod Or 2016	Raffles Malay MS no 30	Cambridge MSS	Jakarta MSS
<i>adap</i>	<i>mangadēp</i>	<i>hadēp</i>	<i>mangadēp</i>		
<i>akan</i>	<i>akēn</i>	<i>akēn</i>		<i>akan</i> (Ii.6.45)	<i>akēn</i> (ML 19)
<i>atau</i>	<i>atawa</i>	<i>atawa</i>	<i>atawa</i>	<i>atawa</i> (Gg.6.40)	<i>atawa</i> (ML 158)
<i>ber-</i>	<i>bar-</i>	<i>bar-</i>	<i>bar-, bēn-</i>	<i>bar-</i> (Ii.6.45)	<i>bēn-</i> (ML 158)
<i>dalam</i>	<i>dalēm</i>	<i>dālēm</i>		<i>dalam</i> (Ii.6.45)	<i>dālēm</i> (ML 19) <i>dālām</i> (ML 64) <i>dālām</i> (ML 420) <i>dālēm</i> (ML 158)
<i>dapat</i>	<i>dāpēt</i>	<i>dāpēt</i>	<i>dāpēt</i>		<i>dāpēt</i> (ML 158)
<i>demikian</i>	<i>dimikian</i>	<i>dimikian</i>		دَمِكِيان (Ii.6.45) = <i>dimakiyan</i> ?	<i>d.mikian</i> (NL 64)
<i>dengan</i>	<i>dēngēn</i>	<i>dangan, dangēn</i>		دَنْجَنْ (Ii.6.45) = <i>dengan</i> ?	<i>dēngēn</i> (ML 19) <i>dangan</i> (NL 64) <i>dēngēn</i> (ML 158)

TABLE 5 CONT

Modern	Raffles Malay	Leiden Cod	Raffles Malay	Cambridge	Jakarta
Spelling	MS no 8	Or 2016	MS no 30	MSS	MSS
<i>dengar</i>	<i>děngěr</i>	<i>maněngěr</i>	<i>kaděngěr</i>		
<i>empat</i>	<i>ěmpat</i>	<i>ěmpat</i>			
<i>firman</i>	<i>farman (p?)</i>	<i>farman (p?)</i>	<i>parman (Ii.6.45)</i>		
<i>-kan</i>	<i>-kěn</i>	<i>-kěn</i>	<i>-kěn</i>	<i>-kan (Gg.6.40)</i>	<i>-kěn (ML 19)</i> <i>-kan (ML 64)</i> <i>-kan (ML 100 B)</i> <i>-kan (ML 420)</i> <i>-kan (ML 446)</i> <i>-kěn (ML 158)</i>
<i>karena</i>	<i>karana</i>	<i>karana</i>		<i>karana</i>	<i>karana (ML 100 B)</i>
<i>ke-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>		<i>ka- (Ii.6.45)</i>	<i>ka- (ML 19)</i> <i>ka- (ML 100 B)</i>
<i>keliling</i>	<i>kuliling</i>		<i>kuliling</i>		
<i>keluarga</i>	<i>kulawarga</i>		<i>kulawarga</i>		



TABLE 5 CONT

Modern	Raffles Malay	Leiden Cod	Raffles Malay	Cambridge	Jakarta
Spelling	MS no 8	Or 2016	MS no 30	MSS	MSS
<i>kembali</i>	<i>kumbali</i>	<i>kumbali</i>			
<i>kenal</i>	<i>mangenal</i>	<i>mangenal</i>			
<i>ketika</i>	<i>kutika</i>	<i>kutiga</i>	<i>kutika</i>		
<i>kuasa</i>	<i>kawasa</i>	<i>kawasa</i>			
<i>me-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i> (Ii.6.45)	<i>ma-</i> (ML 19) <i>ma-</i> (ML 100 B) <i>mē-</i> (ML 158)
<i>negeri</i>	<i>nagri</i>	<i>nagari</i>			
<i>neraka</i>	<i>naraka</i>	<i>naraka, naraka</i>			
<i>per-an</i>	<i>par-an</i>	<i>par-an</i>		<i>pēr-an</i> (NL 158)	
<i>perempuan</i>	<i>parampuan</i>	<i>parampuan</i>		<i>parampuan</i> (Gg.6.40)	<i>pěřempuān</i> (ML 158)

TABLE 5 CONT

Modern Spelling	Raffles Malay MS no 8	Leiden Cod Or 2016	Raffles Malay MS no 30	Cambridge MSS	Jakarta MSS
<i>segala</i>	<i>sagala</i>	<i>sagala</i>		MSS	<i>sagala</i> (ML 19)
<i>sekalian</i>	<i>sakulian</i>	<i>sakalian</i>		<i>سَكَالِيَانْ</i> (Gg.6.40) = <i>sakaliyan</i> ?	<i>sakalian</i> (ML 19) <i>sakalian</i> (ML 100 B) <i>sakalian</i> (ML 158)
<i>(sem)bunyi</i>	<i>buni</i>	<i>bunyi</i>	<i>sembuni</i>	<i>buni</i> (Gg.6.40)	
<i>seteru</i>	<i>setru</i>	<i>setru</i>			
<i>suatu</i>	<i>sawatu</i>	<i>sawatu</i>		<i>sawatu</i> (Ii.6.45)	
<i>surga</i>	<i>syurga</i>	<i>syawarga</i>		<i>syurga</i> (Gg.6.40) (Ii.6.45)	
<i>ter-</i>	<i>tar-</i>	<i>tar-</i>		<i>tar-</i> (Ii.6.45)	<i>tēr-</i> (ML 158)

examples of vowelised Malay manuscripts it may be possible in the future to identify other regional influences and eventually the development of the pronunciation of Malay with time.

#### 2.1.4 THE SPELLING OF RAFFLES MALAY MS NO 8

This section discusses the spelling of Raffles Malay MS no 8 except for the use of vowel points which has been examined in Sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3. A list of unusual words occurring in the text is given in Section 6.2. A comprehensive study of the spelling and the language of the *Bustan us-Salatin* as a whole cannot as yet be attempted as only a small proportion of the work has been subjected to a sufficiently detailed study. Thus it is too early to make general remarks about the extent of Acehese and other influences in the work. It is hoped however that the following notes will provide a basis for the study of further parts of the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

Raffles Malay MS no 8 and the other manuscripts containing Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* display regularity in their spelling; proper names are spelt consistently. Raffles Malay MS no 8 also displays internal consistency in spelling. There is no confusion between the use of چ (c) and چ (j), غ (ng) and غ (gh), ج (g) and ك (k) in the manuscript, a confusion frequently found in other Malay manuscripts; but no distinction is made between the sound of پ (p) and ف (f), both are spelt ف in the manuscript.

The following spelling and language features of Raffles Malay MS no 8 are noteworthy:

1. a) The contracted form *ngapa* is frequently preferred to the form *mengapa*.  
 b) The forms *lotar* and *geta* are found for *lontar* and *genta*.
2. ه  
 a) With a word that may or may not use an initial ه (h), both forms are found in the manuscript, thus *adap* is found as well as

*hadap*.

b) With a *me-* prefix the *h* is sometimes omitted, thus the form *mengadap* is found as well as *menghadap*. The verb *himpun* appears in the form *menghimpunkan* and *mengimpunkan*; sometimes the two forms are found even in the same line. Similarly *hampir* appears in the form *menghampirkan* and *mengampirkan*.

With a *di-* prefix (frequently spelt *dī-* in this manuscript) the *h* is sometimes omitted from the examples mentioned above; also the form *diilangkan* is found as well as *dihilangkan*.

c) A *h* between unlike vowels sometimes appears where it is absent in the modern word. Examples of this are *tuha* and *semuha*. The word *tuan* is frequently spelt *tuhan*, despite possible misinterpretation. The form *guha* is found as well as *gua*, *kasiha* as well as *kasian* and *kaus* as well as *kahus*. In the reduplicated form of the word *bau* the form *bau-bauhan* is used. With the word *kahwin* or *kawin*, the form *mengahwinkan* is found as well as *mengawinkan*. All these forms are reproduced in the edition as they appear in the manuscript.

### 3. *ɸ*

a) Verbs with an initial *ɸ* frequently lose this after the *me-* form. Examples of this are *memeri*, the form found in Old Malay (the form *memberi* also occurs in Raffles Malay MS no 8), *memaca* and *memeɽi*.

b) A final *p* in the modern language sometimes becomes a *ɸ* in Raffles Malay MS no 8; an example being *lengkab* for *lengkap*. Iskandar<sup>24</sup> notes that *bersab* is found for *bersap* in Book II Chapter 13.

### 4. *ɔ*

a) Verbs with an initial *ɔ* frequently do not drop the letter after the *me-* prefix, as in the modern usage. The form *mendengar* is found as well as *menengar*. The manuscript also uses the form *mengediami* rather than *mendiami*, although this example may be evidence of the existence of a form *kediam*. The form *mengediami* is used in the *Sirat al-mustakim*, *Asrar al-insan* and *Tibyan*.

---

<sup>24</sup>Iskandar 1966 p 18.

5. *س*

The form *nyesal* is used in the manuscript for the modern form *sesal* and *nyedar* for *sedar*, despite the fact that *nyedar* normally means 'sound asleep' in Malay.

6. *ء*, *ح* and *ق* - representing final glottal stops.

In some cases words which have a final glottal stop in the modern language are lacking it in Raffles Malay MS no 8; examples of this are *nene* (for *nenek*), *datu* (for *datuk*) and *gundik* is spelt using a *hamzah*.

## 7. Archaic forms

The manuscript frequently uses archaic forms of words and also tends to give the original spelling for Arabic, Persian and Sanscrit loan words. Examples of these are *dulapan* for *delapan*, *penah* for *pernah*, *manusia* is found as well as the form *manusya*, *beniaga* and *berniaga* are to be found, *anugeraha* and the forms *nugeraha* and *menugerahai* and *farman* is used where the modern language employs *firman*.

## 8. Acehnese influence

Only three examples of the influence of Acehnese on Raffles Malay MS no 8 have been identified: *Upama* (for *umpama*) and *antusan* (for *utusan*). The word *andam* is used in the sense of trimming hair. It is noteworthy that Sardanto Tjokrowinoto<sup>25</sup> in his study of the *Sirat al-mustakim* found no evidence for its influence by Acehnese and he concludes that the peculiar forms of words in that work do not reflect regional influence.

As would be expected from a work which used material in the Arabic language, this and all the manuscripts have been considerably influenced by Arabic in style. This style of Malay has been fully discussed by Van Ronkel (1899) and Fokker (1909) and the features mentioned such as the frequent use of link words, the use of prepositions, word order and word for word translation, can be found in all the manuscripts of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. The predominant use

---

<sup>25</sup>Tjokrowinoto 1964 p 77.

of passive verbal forms which is such a feature of Malay does not occur in the manuscripts of the *Bustan us-Salatin* containing Book IV. The technique which Nuruddin ar-Raniri adopts in the translation of the Arabic quoted in the text is noteworthy. The Arabic quotation is followed by *artinya* (this means), but frequently what follows is not simply a word for word translation but contains additions. This means that when the Arabic is compared to its Malay translation a difference can be seen reflecting the emphasis that Nuruddin ar-Raniri wished to make on the sentence. This applies even to quotations from the Quran which are normally rendered in this manner (see for example the quotation at the beginning of Story 16), making it more of a *tafsiran*. There are however examples where Nuruddin ar-Raniri appears to have deliberately departed from the Arabic which he has quoted (see for example the poems in Story 9). Johns<sup>26</sup> has commented on the contribution that Nuruddin ar-Raniri made to the development of Malay in his use of language.

---

<sup>26</sup> Johns 1961 p 46.

## 2.2 MANUSCRIPT B: RAFFLES MALAY MS NO 42

This manuscript is described in the catalogue of Ricklefs and Voorhoeve<sup>27</sup>. The whole manuscript has 440 pages, the pages measure 29 x 19 cm and there are 23 (at times 25) lines to a page. There is no date mentioned within the text of the manuscript and the watermark of the paper 'GR' gives no help in dating. However on the last page there is written 'J Hunt Pontiana Nov 2nd 1812 Resident' and on page 1 by the same hand 'J Hunt Commercial Agent Pontiana 1813'. John Hunt is mentioned as a Commercial Agent in Pontianak by De Haan<sup>28</sup>, a post he took in April 1813. From the available evidence it would seem likely that this manuscript dates from around 1812 or possibly slightly earlier.

Pages 294-364 of the manuscript have been used in the preparation of this edition. The pages have been collated with the pages of Raffles Malay MS no 8 in Table 6. This manuscript is not by the same hand as Raffles Malay MS no 8, but the two appear to have a close relationship. This is discussed in Section 2.6.

---

<sup>27</sup>Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977 p 138. <sup>28</sup>De Haan 1935 p 584-586.

اندر ای او لام این معجزه من و نابینان هب کاشن منوت بی نشنل حاره جلان  
 رحمتی الله عند سکا و منسوب قد سوات حار برکات ابراهیم  
 ابن ادهم کن مریدش بی فلان حدیث لدا هو ما کن حلا ان تباد فان جکلو تباد اغلو باق  
 مما و جمع منه قد عالم دان فواس منه سکا نون سکا  
 فرستوی کات او رخ کن ابراهیم ابن ادهم یا تسبیح ابراهیم یعوذ الله قد ماس ابن  
 ماهر حرکات مک سلامت ابراهیم ابن ادهم کن مریدت کام مور هلند و الخ ایت  
 دغی جاعی کام بلی . . . حل تباد دس کندي تسبیح مور هلند و الخ ایت سکا  
 اولد ابراهیم ابن ادهم بابو کال مماج دعا الله انقلی من زر مغصیر بی عز ط  
 عک ارباب یا فکونی تو فند حل اک در فند لسان بروی معصیه بلم فند کدیان  
 بروی فقیق فند سلیمه فقیق در فند سکا کایت سلیمان الر حار ابن ابراهیم  
 ابن ادهم قدس الله سره سکا ایت مک در ای فقیق . . . سکا در فند سکا  
 راجح بی بر تان فند زمان دهو حار رحمت الله کات ابو یحیی انو ابی الدنبا ای مغر  
 در فند حوت افق حوت نسبی نام بضات یاب فرقه سکا قریب کات سکا فرستو  
 قد سوات در ای راج اسلندر و القریب بر علت حدیث لال کفد مسیه نوری بدو  
 مک یهوق قرصوره اسر فند کات نوری ایت دمنین بیت یعون تباد مغفون  
 نوری ابن توحید او رخ راجح و ان مشهور سفیر سلور و پجات مل سید اراج  
 اسکندر و القریب قد او رخ بی سیس سید و سکار رخ مخد یام نوری ابن ادکورد  
 سورخ در فند او جیح سکا راجح ایت مل سید مریدت یا فکونی شاه علم بدکن  
 اد سورخ لکلال در فند او جیح مریدت کفد کدیه من فند تفت سکا فقیق در  
 مک سید راج سکا در و نوری فری کام فعلی کنند ل مر و رغفور قرینر  
 مخد بی مک ای نور و انقلد مر سید راج اسلندر نوری بی هب الله از سب تون  
 هب معکال کال کد یاس تو نمهب قد تفت سکا قریب مک سید انور هیئت یما  
 تو فکونی شاه عالم اولد در هب بر او کات مغاصه کن فند جمید کن انار تولغ سکا  
 راجح و ان تویزه سقای مریدت مک تباد هب فروله سکا تولغ مریدت و ان تولغ



## 2.3 MANUSCRIPT C: KUALA LUMPUR MS NO 41

The existence of this important manuscript of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, the only one to contain Book III, was first recorded by Roolvink<sup>29</sup> and is also described in Howard's catalogue (1966) on page 42.

The manuscript consists of 787 pages, measuring 21,0 x 15,5 cm and there are 19 lines to the page. At the end of Book III of the manuscript it is recorded that that book was completed in the month of Rabiulakhir 1231 (March 1816). At the end of the next book, Book IV, it is recorded that this book was completed in the month of Safar 1231 (January 1816). At the end of Book V, it is recorded that this book was completed on Sunday 27 Safar 1231 (Sunday 28 January 1816). It would seem unlikely that Book III was copied after IV and V, and it is possible that the date at the end of Book III should read Rabiulakhii 1230 (March 1815).

Pages 597-689 have been referred to in the preparation of this edition and are collated with the pages of Raffles Malay MS no 8 in Table 6. In general it can be said that this manuscript suffers from frequent mistakes and spelling errors. The manuscript also exhibits certain spelling peculiarities in the use of an *alif* at the end of certain words; for example *pada*, *kepada*, *ada*, *raja*, *karena* and *tiada* all end in an *alif*. The manuscript has a tendency to use a ش where a س is sometimes found; for example *manusyia* for *manusia* and *dosya* for *dosa*. There is an unusual feature in parts of the narrative, especially in Book III; gaps have been left where the Arabic should be, and in places where the Arabic has been inserted the space has not been completely filled. It would seem that in this manuscript, in parts at least, gaps were left for the Arabic to be inserted at a later date and that the copyist no doubt erring on the side of caution frequently overestimated the space required for such insertions. It should however be noted that both Malay text and Arabic insertions appear to be by the same hand.

---

<sup>29</sup> Bastin and Roolvink 1964 p 242-243.



## 2.4 MANUSCRIPT D: JAKARTA MS NO 286D

This manuscript is described by Van Ronkel (1909) on pages 76 and 77 of his catalogue. From the description it would appear that this manuscript contains extracts from Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* amongst other material, which should occur between pages 161 and 221. Pages of this manuscript measure 33 x 21 cm and there are 29 lines to a page. The catalogue also records that the manuscript bears the date 19 Muharam 1289 (29 March 1872). This, the most recent of the manuscripts containing Book IV, has been missing from the Museum Pusat since at least 1970, and is now not listed in their current catalogue of holdings.

## 2.5 MANUSCRIPT E: PARIS MALAYO-POLYNÉSIEN NO 275

This manuscript was not described in the catalogue of Cabaton (1912) but is dealt with in the updated list by Voorhoeve<sup>30</sup>. The manuscript contains extracts from Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* and is written on blue paper. Page 74 gives the date *yawmu'l-ahad daripada sehari jumadilakhir bulan daripada hijrahul-nabuyat 1234*. This corresponds to Sunday 28 March 1819. The pages measure 20,0 x 14,5 cm, there are 15 lines to a page and the manuscript has 84 pages of which pages 1-9 and 14-29 are clearly later substitutes bearing the watermark 1842<sup>31</sup>.

Pages 42-79 of this manuscript have been referred to in the preparation of this edition and are collated with the pages of Raffles Malay MS no 8 in Table 6. The stories that are present in this manuscript have been abbreviated and the difficult passages omitted by the copyist. The writing is frequently difficult to read.

---

<sup>30</sup>Voorhoeve 1973 p 1-75.

<sup>31</sup>For fuller details of these pages see Jones 1974 p 7-8.

آنگذارد که از این صلیح اگر کلان از این اینه با یک کنسکاج اگر صندق مغاوی کند و در این اینه  
 تا دیکو از این صلیح هر که ساهته است برین مان ببر کند و در این بر کن کند و در این تو نه می کند  
 فون بر کن کند و در این قاضی متاف و فر جو اشکو کند و فون کنسکاج اشکو بر ساهت کند و در این  
 کرد و فون جو این مکل است و بر فون فون کند و فون فون کند و فون فون کند و فون فون کند  
 این مکل ساهت فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 میلا می حکم الله ان حکم تو فون کند و در این فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 منیک کن فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 مکل در فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 دنیا این مکل فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 فقیر چو تران این فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 و الله اعلم بالتوفیق فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 تاریخ یوم الاحد رعد سهار یونین جماد الاخر  
 در فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون فون  
 و الله اعلم بالصواب  
 محمد

STORY NO	MS A	MS B	MS C	MS E
1	277-278	294-295	597-598	
2	278-279	295-296	598-600	
3	279-280	296-297	600-601	
4	280-281	297-299	601-603	
5	281-282	299-300	603-605	
6	282-283	300-301	605-606	
7	283-284	301-302	606-607	
8	284-286	302-303	607-609	42-45
9	286-287	303-305	609-611	
10	287	305	611-612	
11	287-291	305-309	612-618	
12	291-292	309-310	618-619	
13	292-294	310-312	619-622	
14	294-295	312-313	622-624	
15	295-296	313-314	624	
16	296-297	314-316	624-627	45-48
17	297-298	316-317	627-629	48-49
18	298-299	317	629-630	49-50
19	299-301	317-319	630-633	50-54
20	301-302	319-320	633-634	54-55
21	302-303	320-321	634-635	55-56
22	303-305	321-323	635-638	56-60
23	305-306	323-325	638-641	60-63
24	306-308	325-327	641-644	63-66
25	308-309	327-329	644-646	66-68
26	309-311	329-331	646-649	68-71
27	311-313	331-333	649-653	71-74
28	313-333	333-355	653-676	
29	333-341	355-364	676-689	

Table 6 Collation of page numbers.

## 2.6 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MANUSCRIPTS

The choice of base manuscript for this edition of Book IV was determined by factors relating to the content and accuracy of the text, the date of the manuscript and other relevant studies. After a preliminary analysis of the four manuscripts available (Raffles Malay MS no 8, Raffles Malay MS no 42, Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 and Malayo-Polynésien no 275), Malayo-Polynésien no 275 was discounted as it only contained extracts from the book and in places these extracts were abbreviated. In order to establish which of the remaining three manuscripts was to be used, detailed comparisons were undertaken.

Teuku Iskandar (1968) has examined in detail the relationship between Raffles Malay MS no 8 and 42 with reference to Book II Chapter 13 and has concluded that the scribe of Raffles Malay MS no 8 had considerably abridged the material contained in an original codex. He also notes that the scribe of Raffles Malay MS no 8 had corrupted proper names, omitted certain particles (for example *-lah*, *-pun*, *-nya*) and also omitted certain words altogether from sentences as well as omitting larger sections. From the analysis it became clear that the scribe of Raffles Malay MS no 8 was less concerned with these details than the copyist of Raffles Malay MS no 42.

Although these features in Raffles Malay MS no 8 apply to Book II Chapter 13, there is no evidence of the trend continuing in other parts of the manuscript. One is led to conclude that the features of Book II Chapter 13 are not representative of the nature of the work in general. Once again it would seem that this part of the *Bustan us-Salatin* stands apart from the remainder of the work.

The exact relationship between the two texts is of importance for the preparation of a critical edition. It is necessary to establish whether Raffles Malay MS no 8 was copied from Raffles Malay MS no 42 or vice versa, or whether they have one common ancestor. In order to ascertain this, the stemmatic theory of Maas (1958) which lays emphasis on a detailed examination of errors made by the scribe was applied. Examination of the errors in the manuscripts revealed that Raffles

Malay MS no 8 was not derived exclusively from Raffles Malay MS no 42 or vice versa. The evidence for this being that neither text is more corrupt than the other.

The conjunctive errors<sup>32</sup> in the two manuscripts were then examined making use of a third manuscript (Kuala Lumpur MS no 41) and it was found that the errors in these two manuscripts were more closely related to each other than to Kuala Lumpur MS no 41. The following examples will serve to illustrate this fact:

1. Raffles Malay MS no 8 page 277 '*...tempat kediamannya pada segala kubur*' between *segala* and *kubur*, the word *fakir* has been deleted. In Raffles Malay MS no 42 page 294, the sentence reads '*...tempat kediamannya pada tempat segala fakir kubur*'; the word *fakir* has been encircled in red to show the mistake. This error is not present in the other manuscripts.
2. Raffles Malay MS no 8 page 292 reads '*...supaya sentiasa kami ingat akan suatu*'. Raffles Malay MS no 42 page 310 also uses the word *suatu*, but the Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 page 620 gives a far more likely variant '*...supaya sentiasa kami ingat akan maut*'.
3. Raffles Malay MS no 8 page 293 '*...Tuhan yang menjadikan maut dan hayat supaya menjawab kamu*'. Raffles Malay MS no 42 page 311 reads the same, but Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 page 621 has '*...Tuhan yang menjadikan maut dan hayat supaya mencoba kamu*'. This reading is supported by the Arabic quotation which preceeds it. The mistake may indicate that an original text did not distinguish between the spelling of ج (j) and ح (c).
4. There are also frequent examples of the way the spelling of certain words in these two Raffles manuscripts makes them stand apart from the readings in the other manuscripts. For example, in Raffles Malay MS no 8 on pages 286 and 288 the modern Malay word *geta* is spelt *genta*, this spelling is also used by Raffles Malay MS no 42 on pages 304 and 306. However the Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 gives the more common spelling *geta*. (Note that in this context it is clear from the Arabic source that the word *geta* is intended.)

There are however places where the reading in Raffles Malay MS no 42

---

<sup>32</sup> Reynolds and Wilson 1974 p 190.



stands apart from that in Raffles Malay MS no 8 and Kuala Lumpur MS no 41. It is especially noticeable that the phrase *kata sahibul-hikayat* in Raffles Malay MS no 8 is nearly always *kata yang empunya ceritera* in Raffles Malay MS no 42. Conversely there are also examples of the readings in Raffles Malay MS no 42 and Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 being closer to one another than to Raffles Malay MS no 8; an example of this is that Raffles Malay MS no 8 tends to use the word *belanja* where Raffles Malay MS no 42 and Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 use the word *biaya*.

From the comparison of Raffles Malay MS no 8 and 42 with Kuala Lumpur MS no 41, it clearly emerged that the two Raffles manuscripts were derived from a common ancestor. However in a limited number of places, Raffles Malay MS no 42 and Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 were closer to each other than to Raffles Malay MS no 8. Further investigation is required to establish the relationship between Raffles Malay MS no 42 and Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 using other books of the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

Following this analysis, Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 was discounted because of its later date (1816) and more importantly as it did not appear to preserve a particularly accurate text. As the comparison of Raffles Malay MS no 8 and 42 did not produce an obvious indication of the manuscript to be used as the base manuscript, the choice was determined by other factors. The two manuscripts are approximately the same age. In Section 2.1.2 it was shown that one of the main differences between the manuscripts was that Raffles Malay MS 8 had a fully pointed text. This feature makes it a more interesting choice. Furthermore the edition of Jones (1974) of the earlier part of Chapter 1 of the book was based on Raffles Malay MS no 8, and therefore it was decided to base the edition on the same manuscript so that the entire Book IV would be edited from the same base manuscript.

### SECTION 3 - THE TEXT

#### 3.1 THE METHOD OF THE TEXT EDITION

The reasons behind the choice of Raffles Malay MS no 8 as the base manuscript for this edition of Book IV are outlined in Section 2.6. The readings contained in this manuscript have always been followed so as to preserve an accurate transcription. Significant variant readings in the other manuscripts are referred to in the footnotes. The following letters are used to refer to the manuscripts:

- A - Raffles Malay MS no 8
- B - Raffles Malay MS no 42
- C - Kuala Lumpur MS no 41
- E - Paris Malayo-Polynésien no 275.

The text makes use of the 1972 Indonesian reformed spelling (EYD) and therefore conforms to the modern Indonesian system as outlined in the *Kamus Umum* or Poerwadarminta (1976) except where this does violence to the manuscript spelling. In conformity with this system, words of Arabic origin occurring in the text have been spelt as is usual in Indonesian, without diacritical marks. Peculiar features in the spelling are referred to in the footnotes and may be discussed in Section 6.2. Proper names are spelt according to the modern Indonesian style although the Arabic forms of such names are given in Section 6.1.

The Arabic quotations in the text have been treated differently from the Malay text. The quotations have been reconstructed using their original sources and the other manuscripts. The edition does not record such insertions or amendements. None of the manuscripts preserved accurate versions of the Arabic quotations. The Arabic is transliterated using the Encyclopedia of Islam system except that dj is replaced by j and k by q. It should be noted that in the English translation, it is the Malay translation of the Arabic that

is given and not the Arabic although the Arabic has been referred to in the cases where the meaning is unclear. Malay forms of names are used in the English translation and the list of proper names (Section 6.1) may be referred to for an explanation of the English equivalent.

To aid analysis the text has been considered as a series of individual, numbered stories. The numbers appear in the margin of the text and the translation. It is important to note that such divisions do not appear in the Malay manuscript and have been inserted for reference purposes. Quotations from the Quran use Flügel's system of verse-numbering; the corresponding numbers in the Egyptian text can be found using the table in Watt (1970 p 202-203).

The following symbols are used in the text:

- (            ) word(s) enclosed within square brackets do not occur in Raffles Malay MS no 8 but have been inserted to fill a lacuna in the text. The source of the word(s) is indicated in a footnote.
- /            indicates that a word has been omitted from the text. The word(s) omitted are given in a footnote.
- |            indicates the beginning of a manuscript page, the new page number is indicated in the margin to the text.
- (            ) Apart from the normal use as parentheses, the brackets indicate epithets after the names of characters, prophets etc.

3.2 AN EDITION OF BOOK IV OF THE *BUSTAN US-SALATIN*

## Story 1

Setelah itu maka dimulai fakirlah hikayat setengah daripada segala raja-raja yang bertapa pada jaman dahulu kala (rahmatullah alaihim).

Kata Abu Bakar anak Abu'd-Dunia, ia menengar daripada Harath anak Muhammad, Tamimi nama bangsanya yaitu pertuha segala Kuraaisy, katanya:

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari Raja Iskandar Zulkarnain berangkat hingga lalu kepada sebuah negeri yang binasa. Maka dilihatnya ada surat pada pintu<sup>1</sup> kota negeri itu, demikian bunyinya, "Bahwasanya telah /<sup>2</sup> (mengempukan)<sup>3</sup> negeri ini tujuh orang raja-raja dan matilah sekaliannya."

Setelah sudah dibacanya, maka sabda Raja Zulkarnain pada orang yang di sisinya, "Siapa sekarang mengediami negeri ini? Adakah lagi seorang daripada anak cucu segala raja-raja?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahkan ada seorang laki-laki daripada anak cucu mereka itu, tempat kediamannya pada tempat segala kubur." Maka sabda Raja Iskandar Zulkarnain, "Pergilah kamu panggil ia akan daku." Maka orangpun pergilah memanggil dia, maka iapun datanglah.

Maka sabda Raja Iskandar akan dia, "Hai hamba Allah, apa sebab tuanhamba tetap pada tempat kubur?" Maka sembah anak raja itu, "Ya tuhanku, syah alam, adalah diperhamba beberapa lamanya mengusahakan pada membedakan antara tulang segala raja-raja dan tulang sahaya mereka itu. Maka tiada hamba peroleh segala tulang mereka itu dan tulang sahaya mereka

---

<sup>1</sup>ada surat pada pintu: B and C tersurat atas pintu.

<sup>2</sup>/ mengempukan. <sup>3</sup>from B and C.

itu melainkan sama jua, tiadalah kuasa hamba membedakan dia." Maka sabda Raja Iskandar akan dia, "Maukah tuanhamba mengikut hamba supaya hamba beri martabat akan tuanhamba dan nenek<sup>4</sup> tuanhamba?" Maka sembah anak raja itu, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahwasanya hamba kehendaki daripada tuanhamba beberapa syarat jikalau diperkenankan tuanhamba seperti sembah hamba itu<sup>5</sup>, maulah hamba mengiring tuanhamba." Maka sabda Raja Iskandar, "Hai anak raja, apa syarat yang tuan kehendaki itu?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, pertama<sup>6</sup>,  
 278 hidup yang tiada mati; kedua, muda yang tiada tuha kemudian; ketiga, kaya yang tiada papa kemudian; keempat, sentiasa dalam sukacita yang tiada kedukaan dalamnya." Maka sabda Raja Iskandar akan dia, "Hai anak raja, siapa kuasa atas yang demikian itu?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, jikalau tiada kuasa tuanhamba (berbuat)<sup>7</sup> yang demikian itu, diamlah tuanhamba, dan biarkanlah hamba menuntut yang demikian itu daripada barang siapa yang kuasa berbuat yang demikian itu."

Kata sahibulhikayat: Maka berangkatlah Raja Iskandar Zulkar-nain jadi hairanlah ia menengar kata anak raja itu.

## Story 2

Kata Syekh Abdullah Yafii (radi Allah anhu):

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari<sup>8</sup> ada seorang raja bernama Abu'l-Fawaris Syah ibn Suja<sup>9</sup> (rahmatullah alaihi) /<sup>10</sup> ada ia kerajaan di benua Karaman. Sekali persetua pergi ia berburu bermain-main. Maka bertemu ia dengan seekor kijang<sup>11</sup>. Maka

---

<sup>4</sup>A nene. Beri martabat akan tuanhamba dan nenek: B akan tuanhamba martabat dan nene; C akan tuanhamba martabat datu neknya.

<sup>5</sup>C adds *niscaya*. <sup>6</sup>C adds *bahwa kehendaki itu*. <sup>7</sup>from B and C.

<sup>8</sup>C masa. <sup>9</sup>C adds *ul-Kirmani*. <sup>10</sup>/ pergi; pergi also occurs in B.

<sup>11</sup>C *sukacita*.

lalu diperikutnyalah akan kijang itu dan perjalanannyapun amat jauhlah.

Hatta maka jatuhlah ia pada suatu padang, maka cerailah ia dengan segala balatentaranya. Maka bertemu ia dengan seorang muda berkenderaan atas harimau dan mengelilingi diapun beberapa daripada harimau. Maka tatkala dilihat segala harimau banyak itu akan dia, lalu hendak diterpanya akan raja itu. Maka segera dihardiknyalah<sup>12</sup> akan segala harimau itu. Maka tatkala hampirlah ia kepada raja, maka lalu ia memberi salam kepada raja itu serta katanya, "Hai raja, bahwasanya masygul tuanhamba dengan dunia ini dan tuanhamba mengikut hawa nafsu tuanhamba dan jauh diri tuanhamba daripada berbuat bakti akan Allah Taala. Hanya sesungguhnya dikaruniai Allah Taala akan tuanhamba dunia ini karena menolong tuanhamba pada berbuat bakti akan Allah Taala jua. Maka tuan jadikan dunia ini akan pegawai yang melalaikan diri tuanhamba daripada Allah Taala."

Maka dalam (antara)<sup>13</sup> ia berkata-kata itu, tiba-tiba keluar seorang perempuan tuha membawa suatu kendi /<sup>14</sup> yang berisi air. Maka diunjukkannya pada orang yang mengendarai harimau itu lalu diminumnya. Maka tinggal sedikit lagi, lalu diberikannya akan raja itu. Maka iapun minum air itu serta katanya, "Tiada pernah hamba merasai minum air yang lezat seperc air ini<sup>15</sup> dengan manisnya dan sejuknya." Kemudian dari itu maka perempuan itupun gaiblah.

Maka kata orang muda itu, "Hai raja, inilah dunia telah disuruhkan Allah Taala ia berbuat khidmat akan hamba. Maka tiada jua hamba kehendaki daripada barang sesuatu, melainkan dihardiknyalah akan hamba hingga bergerak dalam cita hamba. Sekalipun tiada tuan dengar firman Allah Taala tatkala

---

<sup>12</sup>from B; A *hartak*; C *h-r-k*.

<sup>13</sup>from B and C. <sup>14</sup>/ *yang*.

<sup>15</sup>*merasai minum air yang lezat seperti air ini: C merasai minuman-minuman yang lezat daripada minum.*

279 menjadikan dunia berfirman Ia: Hai dunia, barang siapa ber-  
 buat khidmat bakti /<sup>16</sup> kepada-Ku, maka berbuat khidmatlah  
 engkau akan dia. Dan barang siapa berbuat khidmat akan  
 dikau, maka kauperhambalah akan dia."

Maka tatkala didengar raja kata orang muda itu demikian,  
 maka raja itupun tobatlah. Maka jadilah halnya seperti  
 yang telah masyhur ceriteranya.

### Story 3

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali persetua ada seorang raja bertapa beberapa lamanya,  
 maka kembali pula ke negerinya kepada kerajaannya. Lalu di-  
 titahkan orang berbuat sebuah maligai yang indah-indah  
 perbuatannya. Maka tatkala sudahlah diperbuat orang maligai  
 itu, maka raja itupun hendak berjamu dalam maligai itu,  
 makan minum bersuka-sukaan, lalu disuruh raja serentakan  
 pada segala isi negeri. Sekalian pergi makan minum dalam  
 maligai itu supaya dilihat mereka itu akan indah-indah per-  
 buatannya maligai itu dan segala perhiasannya. Maka segala  
 isi negeri itupun datanglah makan minum bersuka-sukaan  
 sekira-kira berapa hari lamanya.

Maka pada suatu hari rajapun berangkat dengan segala menter-  
 rinya dan segala hulubalangnya kepada maligai itu. Maka  
 lalu ia bersabda kepada segala menterinya, "Hai segala men-  
 teriku, adakah kamu lihat kesukaanku pada maligai ini? Pada  
 bicaraku kusuruh perbuat jua seperti maligai ini segala  
 anakku. Sekarangpun duduklah kamu dahulu dalam maligai ini  
 bersama-sama dengan daku, barang berapa hari lamanya kita  
 bersuka-sukaan, bahwa aku hendak musyawarat akan perbuatan  
 maligai yang hendak kusuruh perbuat akan anakku itu betapa

---

<sup>16</sup> / kepada.

kutaha<sup>17</sup> perbuatannya." Maka segala menteri dan hulubalang-pun duduklah dalam maligai itu, makan dan minum bersuka-sukaan, maka rajapun musyawaratlah akan perbuatan maligai itu.

Pada suatu malam tiba-tiba mendengar raja dan segala hulubalang akan suatu syair daripada maligai itu, demikian bunyinya:

"*Yā ayyuhā 'l-bāni 'l-nāsi maniyyatahu \* Lā ta'mananna fa-inna 'l-mawta maktūbu.*

Artinya: Hai yang hendak berbuat maligai, telah kaulupakanlah akan yang kau sahaja itu. \* Sekali-kali jangan kauharapkan hidupmu bahwasanya maut itu lagi akan datang jua adanya

*Ala 'l-khalā'iqi in sarrū wa-in hazinū \* Fa-'l-mawtu hatafun lidhī 'l-ānālī mansūbu.*

atas segala makhluk /<sup>18</sup> (juga segala suka hati mereka itu atau benci mereka itupun.)<sup>19</sup> \* Maka maut itu memutuskan angan yang berlanjut-lanjutan sanya.

*Lā tabniyanna diyāran lasta taskunuhā \* Wa-rāji<sup>c</sup> al-muska kaymā yaqhfara 'l-hūbu.*

Bahwasanya jangan jua kiranya kauperbuat maligai yang tiada tetap kediamannya itu. \* Kembalilah kiranya engkau kepada tapamu yang dahulu itu supaya diampuni-Nya dosamu yang didengar sekalian mereka itu."

Maka jadi terkejutlah raja /<sup>20</sup> dan segala menterinya dan segala hulubalang dengan dukacita yang amat sangat hingga lalu ketakutan segala mereka itu. Maka sabda raja, "Adakah kamu dengar seperti yang kudengar itu?" Maka sembah sekalian mereka itu, "Bahkan." Maka bersabda raja, "Adakah kamu rasa seperti yang kurasa itu?" Maka sembah mereka itu, "Tiada hamba rasa seperti rasa syah alam itu." Maka sabda raja, "Telah ketakutanlah hatiku tetapi tiada kaulihat akan dia melainkan ketika mautku

<sup>17</sup> A kutahu. <sup>18</sup> / dan sentosa hati. <sup>19</sup> from C.

<sup>20</sup> / raja.



jua." Maka sembah mereka itu, "Sekalian barang dikekalkan Allah kiranya tuanhamba dengan aflat keabajikan." Maka rajapun lalu menangislah.

Maka sekalian minuman itupun disuruhnya tumpahkan dan segala bunyi-bunyian disuruhnya bakar<sup>21</sup>. Lalu iapun tobatlah kepada Allah Taala. Dan adalah ia sentiasa ingat<sup>22</sup> akan mati hingga datanglah mautnya (rahmatullah alaihi).

#### Story 4

Dan kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali persetua ada seorang raja dalam negeri Kundah yaitu negeri Yaman. Ada ia sangat gemar pada permainan segala bunyi-bunyian dan yang lainnya lagi bersuka-sukaan makan minum. Sekali persetua pada suatu hari pergi ia berburu bermain-main. Maka cerailah ia dengan segala tentaranya, lalu ia bertemu dengan seorang laki-laki duduk menghimpunkan segala tulang orang mati di hadapinya serta dibalik-baliknya. Maka sabda Raja Kundah akan dia, "Hai laki-laki, apa maksudmu dan apa bagimu kulihat pada /<sup>23</sup> (halmu)<sup>24</sup> yang keji ini? Tubuhmupun jadi kurus dan rupamupun jadi berubahlah dengan bertunggal dirimu dalam padang."

Maka sahut laki-laki itu, "Adapun kata tuanhamba itu sebenarnya karena sekarang hamba hendak pergi pada jalan yang jauh dan ada serta hamba dua orang yang mengawali hamba serta ia mengejut-ngejuti (hamba)<sup>25</sup>. Lalu dibawahnya hamba kepada tempat yang sempit lagi kelam dalam lubang bumi yang keji lagi kesukaran tempat kediaman. Maka disuruhnya pula akan hamba pada tempat bala bersama-sama dengan orang yang binasa di bawah petala bumi. Jika tuanhamba melihat pada tempat

---

<sup>21</sup>C tunu. <sup>22</sup>B menyebut; C menyebut-nyebut.

<sup>23</sup> / malam; B=A. <sup>24</sup>from C. <sup>25</sup>from B and C.

yang sempit itu lagi tempat diketakuti dan segala binatang yang melata di bumi memakan daging hamba, hinggalah segala daging tulang hamba hancur jadi tanah. Dan adalah segala bala itu berlaku pada hamba, tetapi mudah-mudahan ada sentosa kesudah-sudahan hamba. Maka lagi akan dibangkitkan hamba<sup>26</sup>, dan hamba rasailah balas segala amal hamba pada tempat yang mana-mana pengetahuan hamba daripada salah suatu daripada dua, yaitu surga atau neraka."

281 Demi menengar Raja Kundah itu kata laki-laki itu demikian, maka lalu iapun turun dari atas kudanya duduk di hadapan laki-laki itu serta katanya, "Hai laki-laki yang hamba Allah, bahwasanya segala perkataan tuanhamba ini mengeruhkan kehidupan hamba yang jernih ini, artinya, telah pahitlah kelezatan dunia ini dan telah memberi bekaslah ia pada hati hamba Allah segala nasihat tuanhamba itu. Dan katakan oleh tuanhamba agama tuanhamba." Maka laki-laki berkata, "Tiadakah tuanhamba lihat yang bertimbun-timbun di hadapan hamba ini?" Maka kata raja kepadanya, "Bahkan, ada hamba lihat."

Maka sahut laki-laki itu, "Inilah tulang segala raja-raja yang magrur dengan segala perhiasan dunia inilah lagi melalaikan mereka itu daripada segala bahaya maut hingga<sup>27</sup> datang ajal mereka itu. Pada ketika itu jadi hairamlah segala angan-angan yang lanjut itu. Dan ditinggalkan maut itulah segala nikmat dan segala lezat dunia ini. Lagi akan dikembalikan segala tulang ini kepada jasadnya. Maka dikira-kira pula akan dia. Kemudian dari itu maka dibalas mereka itu surga atau neraka."

Setelah itu maka laki-laki itupun gaiblah, tiada diketahui ke mana perginya. Kelakian maka segala bala tentaranya itupun datanglah mendapatkan raja itu. Demi dilihat segala menteri dan hulubalangnya warna muka raja itu telah berubahlah serta dengan tangisnya. Maka tatkala mamlah hari,

---

<sup>26</sup>C adds *pada pagi jemah*.      <sup>27</sup>B and C add *tiba-tiba*.

maka ditinggalkan raja itulah segala pakaian kerajaannya. Lalu dipakainya dua helai kain sapar<sup>28</sup> pinggangan yang kasar, sehelai diperkainnya, dan sehelai diperselimutnya. Maka pada malam itu jua keluarlah ia meninggalkan kerajaannya.

(i) Seperti kata syair,

"Afanā 'l-mulūka 'l-latī kānat muna<sup>28</sup> amatan \* Kurru  
'l-laylī iqbālan wa-idbārā.

Artinya: Telah dilenyapkan akan segala masa<sup>29</sup> sentosa oleh berganti-ganti siang dan malam.

Yā rāqid 'l-layli masrūran bi-awwalihī \* Inna 'l-hawāditha qad yatruqna ashārā.

Artinya: Hai yang tidur nyedar pada pertama malam dengan sukanya, \* Bahwasanya segala bahaya itu datang ia pada ketika dinihari.

Lā ta'ananna bi-laylin tāba awaluhu \* Fa-rubba ākhiri laylin ajjaja 'l-nārā.

Bahwasanya jangan engkau syak dengan malam yang baik pada pertamanya, \* Maka beberapa yang kesudahan malam itu bernyalalah<sup>30</sup> apinya."

## Story 5

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali persetua ada seorang raja pada jaman dahulu kala /<sup>31</sup> menitahkan berbuat maligai yang amat indah perbuatannya dan perhiasannya. Apabila sudahlah maligai itu, maka raja itu-pun menitahkan memanggil segala isi negeri berjamu mereka itu. Maka sekalian mereka itupun datanglah ke maligai itu makan dan minum bersuka-sukaan.

Syahdan rajapun menitahkan orang yang menunggu pintu, "Barang

<sup>28</sup>B seperti. <sup>29</sup>segala masa: C manusia.

<sup>30</sup>B and C ternyalalah. <sup>31</sup>/ dahulu kala.

siapa keluar daripada<sup>32</sup> pintu maligai ini, hendaklah kamu tanyai akan dia, "Adakah (kamu lihat)<sup>33</sup> aibnya maligai ini atau tiada?"

282 Kelakian maka sekalian mereka itu masing-masing keluarlah. Maka orang yang menunggu pintu itu menanyai tiap-tiap yang keluar seorang-orang daripada mereka itu. Maka sahut mereka itu, "Suatu pun tiada aib pada maligai ini." Maka kesudah-sudahan mereka itu keluar beberapa orang memakai kain kasar. Maka ditanyai penunggu pintulah akan dia, "Adakah kamu lihat suatu aib pada maligai ini?" Maka sahut mereka itu, "Bahkan, ada dua aib pada maligai ini."

Maka demi didengar penunggu pintu kata mereka itu demikian, maka ditahanilah akan dia lalu dipersembahkan kepada raja, "Ya tuhanku, syah alam, adalah diperhambadapat beberapa orang yang mengatakan pada maligai ini ada dua aib." Demi raja menengar sembahnya demikian, maka sabda raja, "Kaupanggil akan dia." Maka iapun datanglah ke hadirat syah alam<sup>34</sup>. Maka sabda raja, "Apa dua aib yang kamu lihat pada maligai ini?" Maka sembahnya mereka itu, "Ya tuhanku, syah alam, pertama aib, maligai ini akan rusak binasa jua adanya; dan kedua, mati jua segala isinya."

Maka sabda raja, "Adakah kauketahui maligai yang tiada binasa dan tiada mati isinya?" Maka sembah mereka itu, "Ya tuhanku, syah alam, ada maligai yang tiada binasa dan tiada mati segala isinya, yaitu surga." Maka dipersembahkannya pula segala aneka-aneka<sup>35</sup> bagai-bagai nikmatnya, hingga dirindukan mereka itu akan raja itu kepada surga. Maka dipersembahkannya pula

---

<sup>32</sup>B adds kota. <sup>33</sup>from B; C kamu melihat.

<sup>34</sup>kaupanggil akan dia maka iapun datanglah ke hadirat syah alam: B aku menghendaki suatu aib jua sekarang kudengar dua aib pula lalu raja menitahkan memanggil mereka itu maka mereka itupun datanglah; C aku menghendaki suatu aib jua sekarang kudengar dua aib pula lalu raja menitahkan memanggil mereka itu maka datang mereka itu.

<sup>35</sup>A naika-naika; B and C aneka-aneka.

neraka dan segala isinya dan azabnya dan dipertakutinya akan raja itu daripada bagai-bagai siksa neraka, dan dibawai oleh mereka itu akan berbuat ibadat akan Allah Taala.

Demi didengar raja sembah mereka itu, lalu masuk insaflah daripada hati raja itu serta tobat. Lalu ia keluar ia dari dalam maligainya serta meninggalkan segala kerajaannya. Maka berjalanlah ia kepada jalan Allah Taala (rahmatullah alaihi).

## Story 6

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Ada dua orang raja pada masa dahulu kala di benua Yaman. Berapa lamanya berperang keduanya, maka adalah salah seorang daripada dua orang itu dibunuhnya akan seorang yang alah itu<sup>36</sup> dan ditawannya segala rakyatnya. Maka dititahkan raja itu berbuat sebuah maligai yang indah-indah perhiasannya. Maka dibuat oranglah maligai itu. Maka tatkala sudahlah maligai itu, maka raja itupun berangkatlah hendak pergi kepada maligai itu dengan segala bala tentaranya.

Maka dilihatnya ada seorang laki-laki yang gila pada tengah jalan. Tatkala itu rajapun hampirilah, maka lalu ia bersyair demikian bunyinya,

*"Tasamma<sup>c</sup> mina 'l-ayyāni in kunta ḥazīman \* Fa-innaka fīhā bayna nāhin wa-āmiri.*

Artinya: Dengarkan olehmu hai raja, daripada warta yang dahulu kala, jika ada engkau berbudi. \* Maka bahwasanya engkaulah dalam masa ini menyuruh dan melarang antara segala manusia.

*Wa-kan malikīn qad rukkima 'l-turbu fawqahu \* Wa-ahdī bihi bi-'l-amsi fawqa 'l-minābiri.*

---

<sup>36</sup>seorang yang alah itu: c lawannya.

283

Beberapa daripada segala raja-raja yang telah bertimbun atas mereka itu | tanah. \* Dan yaitu sekalian (pada)<sup>37</sup> penglihat matakau upama kegemaran jua adanya.

*Idhā kunta fi 'l-dunyā basiran fa-innamā \* Balāghuka minhā mithlu zādi 'l-musāfiri.*

Jikalau ada engkau berbicara insaf dalam dunia ini, \* Maka hanya sanya tiada diperolehnya daripada dunia ini melainkan seperti bakal orang menjalani jalan raya jua adanya.

*Idhā abqati 'l-dunyā 'ala 'l-mar'i dīnahu \* Fa-mā fātahu minhā fa-laysa bidā'iri.*

Apabila dipelihara dunia seseorang laki-laki agamanya, \* Maka tiadalah binasa adanya."

Demi didengar raja syair ini serta katanya, "Sungguhlah seperti kata tuanbamba." Lalu turunlah ia dari atas kudanya. Maka bercerailah ia daripada segala tentaranya, lalu ia naik ke atas bukit. Maka segala bala tentaranya pun hendak mengikut dia. Maka disumpahi raja akan segala bala tentaranya, "Bahwa janganlah kamu mengikut daku seorang juapun." Maka yaitu kesudah-sudahan janjinya. Maka tinggal di benua Yaman dengan tiada beraja. Hatta berapa lamanya maka dipilihnyalah oleh segala menteri daripada segala orang yang patut akan raja dirajakanlah mereka itulah ketikanyalah negeri itu beraja.

## Story 7

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari, (raja)<sup>38</sup> di negeri Kirman telangkai (akan)<sup>39</sup> anak Raja Syah Kirmani. Maka iapun miuta bertanggung tiga hari lamanya, tiada ia mau akan anak Raja Kirmani itu karena anaknya itu menghendaki orang saleh. Maka Raja Syah Kirmanipun mencari orang yang saleh jua segenap

<sup>37</sup> from B and C.    <sup>38</sup> from B and C.    <sup>39</sup> from B.

masjid akan dinikahkan dengan anaknya.

Maka bertemu ia dengan seorang laki-laki yang muda lagi saleh dalam sembahyangnya. Maka tatkala selesailah orang muda itu daripada sembahyangnya, maka bersabda Raja Syah Kirmani akan orang muda, "Adakah engkau beristeri?" Maka sembah laki-laki muda itu, "Tiada diperhamba beristeri." Maka sabda Raja Kirmani, "Maukah engkau beristeri memaca Quran dan sembahyang dan puasa lagi ia terelok parasnya?" Maka sembah laki-laki itu, "Siapa jua yang memberi akan hamba isteri yang demikian itu, dan tiada ada suatu apa pada hamba milik melainkan tiga dirham jua?" Maka sabda Raja Syah Kirmani, "Akulah menikahkan dikau dengan anakku. Maka kukabul<sup>40</sup> dengan suatu dirham roti dan dengan suatu dirham daging dan dengan suatu dirham bau-bauhan, sekianlah<sup>41</sup> belanjamu." Maka sabda Raja Kirmani, "Hai orang muda, marilah kita pergi ke rumahmu." Maka pergilah keduanya berjalan ke rumah orang muda itu, maka lalu dinikahkannya puteri dengan orang muda itu.

284 Maka Raja Syah Kirmanipun mengantarkan anaknya ke rumah orang muda itu. Maka tatkala masuklah puteri itu ke rumah suaminya, maka dilihatnya ada dalam rumah suaminya itu dua roti yang kering di atas buyung yang sumbing. Demi dilihat puteri akan roti itu serta katanya, "Apa ini?" Maka sahut suaminya, "Ini roti yang tinggal kemarin, hamba taruh akan buka puasa hamba."

Maka tatkala didengar puteri kata suaminya demikian itu, lalu ia hendak kembali. Maka kata suaminya, "Hamba ketahuilah bahwa anak raja itu tiada rela akan kepapaan hamba dan tiada rela ia akan hamba akan jadi suaminya." Maka sahut puteri, "Bahwa anak Raja Syah Kirmani ini tiada ia keluar dari rumah tuanhamba kerana sebab kepapaan tuanhamba, tetapi keluar ia karena kurang yakin tuanhamba. Dan tiada hamba ajaib daripada tuanhamba papa hanya sanya ajaib hamba daripada ayah

---

<sup>40</sup>C *kaubeli.*    <sup>41</sup>C *demikianlah.*

hamba betapa ia bersabda menikahkan hamba sabdanya, 'Aku mengawinkan dikau dengan orang yang saleh lagi<sup>42</sup> pertapa,' akan barang siapa yang tiada harap akan Allah Taala melainkan dengan menaruh roti jua."

Maka sahut suaminya, "Hamba minta maaf daripada pekerjaan hamba ini." Maka sahut puteri, "Adapun tuan minta maaf ini tuan jua terlebih tahu akan hal diri tuanhamba, tetapi hamba tiada duduk dalam rumah yang ada dalamnya barang suatu rezeki yang nyata dalamnya. Atau tuan keluarkan rotikah atau hambakah!" Maka segera suaminya mengambil roti itu, lalu disedekahkan. Maka puteripun duduklah dengan suaminya berbuat ibadat akan Allah Taala.

## Story 8

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali persetua pada masa bani Israil ada seorang perempuan, anak raja daripada kaum bani Israil terlalu adil lagi abid, dipinang oleh seorang anak raja daripada kaum bani Israil jua akan dia. Maka tiada mau puteri itu bersuami akan anak raja itu. Maka kata puteri akan seorang sahaya, "Pergilah kaucari akan daku seorang fakir yang saleh lagi abid." Maka sahaya itupun pergilah, maka diperolehnya seorang fakir yang saleh lagi abid, lalu membawanya kepada puteri itu.

Demi dilihat puteri akan fakir itu, maka kata puteri, "Hai hamba Allah, maukah tuanhamba kahwin dengan hamba?" Maka kata fakir itu, "Bahkan, maulah hamba." Maka kata puteri, "Marilah kita pergi kepada mualim." Maka keduanya pergilah, maka dinikahkan mualimlah keduanya.

---

<sup>42</sup>B adds *betapa ia memperikat (?) tuanhamba dengan*; C adds *betapa ia memberikan tuanhamba dengan*.



Maka kata ia akan suaminya, "Bawalah hamba ke rumah tuan-hamba." Maka sahut suaminya, "Demi Allah, tiada ada pada hamba sesuatu milik pun melainkan selimut yang hamba pakai ini jua, hamba perselimut malam dan hamba perselimut<sup>43</sup> siang." Maka kata puteri, "Bahwasanya relalah hamba akan hal tuanhamba ini." Maka dibawanya akan dia ke rumah suaminya dan adalah diusahakan suaminya dengan barang usaha pada siang hari.

285 Maka dibawanyalah pada suatu malam daripada usahanya dapat akan makan buka<sup>44</sup> puasa jua tiada beroleh akan makan pada paginya, tetapi adalah ia puasa sunah pada siang hari karena Allah Taala. Maka jika ada diperolehnya sesuatu makanan, maka dibukanya puasanya; jika tiada ia beroleh makanan, puasalah ia mengucap ia syukur akan Allah Taala pada barang hal ahwalnya. Maka kata puteri, "Baharu sekarang inilah selesailah<sup>45</sup> hamba berbuat ibadat akan Allah Taala."

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari pergilah suaminya mencari rezeki. Maka tiada diperolehnya sesuatu jua pun, maka dukacitalah ia serta berbicara ia dalam hatinya, katanya, "Bahwa isteriku duduk dalam rumah dengan puasanya, menantikan<sup>46</sup> daku membawa sesuatu makanan akan membuka puasanya." Maka ia mengambil air sembahyang, lalu ia sembahyang dua rakaat serta ia minta doa, demikian bunyinya, "Ya Tuhanku, Engkau jua mengetahui bahwasanya hamba-Mu tiada memohonkan ke hadirat-Mu suatu daripada dunia akan bahagiannya diriku dan hanya sanya kupohonkan kepada-Mu karena isteriku yang saleh jua; Tuhanku jua menugerahai<sup>47</sup> hamba-Mu rezeki daripada hadirat-Mu; Engkau jua sebaik-baik menganugerahai rezeki hamba-Mu."

Kata sahibulhikayat: Tiba-tiba turun suatu mutiara dari langit, maka diambil fakir itulah lalu dibawanya kepada

<sup>43</sup>B, C and E pakai. <sup>44</sup>makan buka: B, C and E membuka.

<sup>45</sup>E adds *hati*. <sup>46</sup>A *m-n-n-t-w-k-n*. <sup>47</sup>B, C and E add *kiranya*.

isterinya. Demi dilihat isterinya akan mutiara itu, maka iapun terkejutlah<sup>48</sup> melihat mutiara itu serta katanya, "Dari mana (akan)<sup>49</sup> tuanhamba mutiara ini? Tiada pernah hamba lihat sebagainya pada khazanah ayah hamba sekali pun." Maka sahut suaminya, "Pada hari ini hamba cari rezeki, suatu pun tiada hamba peroleh. Maka pikir hamba dalam hati hamba bahwa isteriku ada di rumah duduk menantikan<sup>50</sup> daku (membawa)<sup>51</sup> suatu makanan akan buka puasanya, lagi ia anak raja. Maka<sup>52</sup> aku pergi kepadanya tiada dengan membawa suatu<sup>53</sup> apa-apa. Maka minta doa hamba kepada Allah Taala, maka dianugerahai-Nya akan hamba mutiara ini dari langit."

Maka kata isterinya, "Pergilah tuanhamba pada tempat minta doa itu dan tuanhamba minta doa pada Allah Taala, demikian bunyinya: *Ilahi wa sayidi wa maulaya*, jikalau Kauanugerahai mutiara ini dalam dunia ini, maka Kauanugerahai kiranya berkat akan kami. Jikalau Kaukurangi pahala kami dalam akhirat ganti mutiara ini, Kauambillah ia."

Maka diambil suaminya mutiara itupun, lalu pergilah ia kepada tempatnya minta doa serta minta doa ia seperti pengajar isterinya itu. Maka mutiara itupun terangkat ke langit. Maka iapun kembalilah kepada isterinya serta diceriterakan-nyalah kepada isterinya akan hal yang demikian itu. Demi didengar isterinya<sup>54</sup> serta katanya, "Alhamdulillah, segala puji bagi Allah yang menunjukkan (kami)<sup>55</sup> barang pahala yang ditaruhkan-Nya akan kami dalam akhirat." Dan lagi katanya, "Sekarang ini tiada ngapa akan kami jikalau tiada ada suatu jua pun daripada dunia ini, dan syukurlah kami kepada Allah Taala pada hal yang demikian ini." (Radi Allah anhum.)

<sup>48</sup>C *dukacitalah*. <sup>49</sup>from B and C; E *dari mana tuanhamba beroleh*.

<sup>50</sup>A *m-n-n-t-w-k-n*. <sup>51</sup>from B, C and E.

<sup>52</sup>C and E *malu*. <sup>53</sup>*membawa suatu: A suatu membawa*.

<sup>54</sup>C *adds kata suaminya*. <sup>55</sup>from B, C and E.

## Story 9

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari berjalan-jalan seorang syekh bernama Abdullah, ada sertanya beberapa orang zahid hingga datanglah waktu lohor, iatkala /<sup>56</sup> (itu sampai ke-)<sup>57</sup> pada suatu padang yang tiada ada di sana air akan mengambil air sembahyang. Maka kami minta doa ke hadirat Allah Taala akan beroleh air itu. Maka kelihatan sebuah maligai dari jauh, maka kamipun datanglah kepada maligai itu. Maka kami lihat maligai itu amat tinggi dan terlalu amat baik perbuatannya, dan ada pada keliling maligai itu beberapa sungai dan mata air. Maka kamipun mengucap syukurlah akan Allah Taala karena demikian itu dan kamipun mengambil air sembahyang, lalu sembahyanglah kami di sana.

Maka kamipun naik di atas maligai itu, maka kami lihat pada dewala maligai itu tersurat syair ini:

"*Hādhi manāzilū man ahwā 'ahidthumu \* Fī raghdī 'ayshin  
khasībīn māluhu khataru.*

Artinya: Inilah tempat kediaman orang bersuka-sukaan,

\* Pada masa mereka itu hidup dengan sentosa tiada kedu-  
kaan adanya.

*Da'athumu nā'ibātu 'l-dahri fa-'rtahālū \* Ilā 'l-qubūri  
fa-lā 'aynun wa-lā atharu.*

Maka datanglah ke atas mereka itu kebinasaan, maka lalulah mereka itu \* Pada kuburnya; maka tiadalah lagi ada suatu tanda dan bekas adanya."

Setelah itu maka kami lihat di halaman maligai itu suatu geta<sup>58</sup> daripada emas tersurat padanya<sup>59</sup> syair ini:

---

<sup>56</sup> / ia sembahyang kami; there appears to be some variation in the person used in this account.

<sup>57</sup> from C. <sup>58</sup> A and B genta; C geta which is confirmed by Arabic *sarīr*.

<sup>59</sup> B atas; C atasnya.

*Mā zilata tatlubu kulla mā \* Yurđī wa-twm<sup>c</sup>inu fi 'l-talab.*

Sentiasalah kautuntut akan sesuatu yang tiada kauperoleh,

\* Dan kausungguh-sungguhi pula pada menuntut itu jua.

*Wa-malakla mā ammlāta min \* Arđi 'l-a<sup>c</sup>ajimi wa-'l<sup>c</sup>arh.*

Dan aku mengimpunkan barang yang dukacita itu daripada

\* Kerajaan benua Arab dan Ajam.

*Muddat ilayka yadu 'l-radā \* Fa-dhahbta fī man qad dhahab.*

Datanglah padamu kerajaan itu, \* Maka akupun matilah serta orang yang telah mati."

Setelah itu maka kami lihat dalam kebun maligai itu surat loh daripada batu pelinggam tersurat dalamnya demikian bunyinya: "Bahwasanya adalah yang empunya maligai ini seorang raja, baik halnya, sentosa hidupnya. Adalah takut segala manusia akan dia daripada hebatnya aken dia. Dalam antara itu ada ia dalam kesukaannya dan sentosanya dan majelis permainannya serta bersuka-sukaan dengan segala hulubalanganya. Tiba-tiba datang orang memanggil, tiada dapat ia menyalahi panggilan. Maka rebahlah ia lalu mati, maka tanggal makota dari kepalanya, maka dikeluarkanlah ia daripada maligainya. Dan lihatlah olehmu maka betapa maligai sunyinya ini tiada yang empunya dia."

Setelah itu maka kami berjalan-jalanlah ke dalam maligai, maka kami lihat suatu kubah ada dalamnya kubur dan (di)<sup>60</sup> sisi kubur itu ada suatu loh daripada batu pelinggam tersurat dalam loh itu syair ini:

*"Anā rahmu 'l-turābi fi 'l-lahdi wahđi \* Wādī<sup>c</sup>an tahta lubnati 'l-ardī khaddī.*

287 Artinya: Bahwasanya | aku dan tanah ini seorang dirikulah dalam kuburku. \* Maka jadi bantal pipiku itupun tanah jua (adanya)<sup>61</sup>."

- (i) Dan nasihat seyogyanya maka segala raja-raja yang magrur dalam kerajaannya: Lihatlah olehmu hal segala raja-raja yang dahulu kala, betapa mereka itu meninggalkan

<sup>60</sup> from C.      <sup>61</sup> from B and C.

kerajaannya tiada ada sertanya melainkan amalnya yang adil atau aniaya jua, maka jangan ia lena dalam kerajaannya.

- (ii) Seperti firman Allah Taala, "*Wa-mā al-ḥayawtu 'l-dunyā illā matā<sup>C</sup>u al-ghurūr.*"

Artinya: Tiada ada hidup dalam dunia melainkan mati benda yang magrurkan jua.

- (iii) Dan seperti sabda Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam), "*Kun fi 'l-dunyā ka-annaka gharībun aw 'ābiru sabīlin wa-<sup>C</sup>udda nafsaka min aṣḥābi 'l-qubūri.*"

Artinya: Jadikan dirimu dalam dunia seperti dagang<sup>62</sup> atau seperti orang melalui jalan dan bilangkan dirimu itu daripada orang isi kubur.

#### Story 10

Dan kata Imam Ghazali (kaddasa 'llahu sirrahu):

Bahwa ada seorang raja pada suatu hari pergi ia mengunjungi syekh yang saleh. Maka sabda raja, "Ya tuan syekh, barang jangan kiranya tuanhamba (lupa)<sup>63</sup> akan hamba pada ketika tuan dalam khalwat. Tuan sebutkan kiranya hamba kepada Allah Taala." Maka sahut syekh, "Tuan, akan diriku lagi tiada hamba sebutkan kepada Allah Taala, maka betapa hamba menyebutkan tuanhamba kepada Allah Taala."

Maka sabda raja itu, "Ya tuan syekh, apa sebabnya tuanhamba berkata yang demikian?" Maka sahut syekh, "Tuanku, apabila hamba menyebut nama Allah Taala, maka lupalah hamba akan diri hamba." Maka berkata pula syekh, "Jikalau berkehendak (tuanku)<sup>64</sup> akan hal yang demikian itu, bahwa janganlah tuanku menyebut<sup>65</sup> lain daripada nama Allah Taala."

<sup>62</sup>A *dagang*.      <sup>63</sup>from C.      <sup>64</sup>from B and C

<sup>65</sup>C adds *nama*.

- (i) Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah: Hendaklah diperbanyak menyebut nama Allah Taala supaya jadi ia daripada orang yang berjinak-jinakan dengan dia.
- (ii) Seperti firman Allah Taala yang tersebut dalam Quran,  
*"Fa-'dhkurūnī adhkurkum wa-'shkurū lī wa-lā takfurūni."*  
 Artinya: Sebut olehmu akan Kami<sup>66</sup> supaya Kusebut akan kamu dan mengucap syukurlah kamu akan Daku dan jangan kamu durhaka akan Daku.
- (iii) Dan lagi firman Allah Taala, *"Yā ayyuhā 'l-dhīna āmanū 'dhkurū 'līlāha dhikran kathīran."*  
 Artinya: Hai segala yang percaya akan Allah Taala dan akan Rasu'nya, sebut oleh kamu Allah dengan sebut yang amat banyak.
- (iv) Dan seperti sabda Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam), *"Man ahabba shay'an fa-akthara min dhikrihi."*  
 Artinya: Barang siapa mengasihi akan sesuatu, maka perbanyak menyebut<sup>67</sup> akan Dia.

## Story 11

Kata Muhammad ibn Simaki (rahmatullah alaihi):

Ada seorang laki-laki bernama Musa ibn Muhammad ibn Sulaiman, Hasyiminama bangsanya. Adalah ia tengah muda, terlalu elok parasnya, mukanya seperti bulan purnama, lagi amat kaya, sentiasa ia dalam kesukaannya dan memenuhi cinta rasa hawa nafsunya dengan makanan dan minuman dan memakai kain<sup>68</sup> yang indah-indah dan memakai segala bau-bauhan daripada narwastu. Dan ada baginya beberapa gundik yang muda-muda lagi elok parasnya dan beberapa daripada segala laki-laki yang muda belia berbuat khidmat kepadanya.

<sup>66</sup> akan Kami: B Aku; C akan Daku.

<sup>67</sup> perbanyak menyebut: B and C diperbanyaknya sebutnya.

<sup>68</sup> B and C pakaian.

Tiada ada sesuatu orang pun bicaranya melainkan kepada kesukaannya jua, dan adalah dianugerahai Allah Taala akan dia nikmat dengan sempurnanya.

Syahdan adalah dibiayakan pada tiap-tiap tahun akan makanannya dan akan pakaiannya kira-kira tiga puluh laksa<sup>69</sup> tiga ribu dinar. Dan ada baginya sebuah maligai yang amat tinggi. Maka duduklah ia di atas maligai itu, memandang ia kepada manusia. Dan ada bagi maligai itu beberapa pintu setengah pintunya kepada jalan raya. Ada dalam kebun itu sebuah maligai yang kecil daripada gading bersendi dengan perak bermalema<sup>70</sup> dengan emas. Dan di dalam maligai itu suatu geta terhampar di atasnya beberapa hamparan.

Dan adalah ia memakai<sup>71</sup> serban yang bergantung di atasnya mutiara dikarang. Maka duduklah ia dalam maligai itu dengan beberapa orang yang sekedudukan dengan dia dan beberapa sahaya yang muda belia berdiri di hadapannya dan beberapa perempuan yang muda<sup>72</sup> bernyanyi (di balik tirai di luar kota itu. Apabila hendak disuruhkannya segala biduannya bernyanyi,<sup>73</sup> maka dipandangnya kepada mereka itu serta diisyaratkannya, maka segala biduanpun bernyanyilah. Apabila ia hendak mendiarkannya mereka itu, maka diisyaratkannya kepada tirai itu dengan tangannya, maka segala yang bernyanyi itupun diamlah. Demikianlah adatnya hingga sampai<sup>74</sup> kesudahan malam, maka iapun mabuklah. Tatkala itu keluarlah segala yang sekedudukan dengan dia melainkan beberapa orang yang dikehendaknya jua tinggal hingga subuhlah hari. Maka berhimpunlah segala yang sekedudukan dengan dia lalu bermain catur dan cuki. Tiadalah tersebut dalam majelis itu maut dan kesakitan dan percintaan, melainkan kesukaan dan kesentosaan dan segala hikayat yang gemar tertawa jua adanya. Dan adalah segala yang sekedudukan dengan dia itu

---

<sup>69</sup>C adds *dua*.    <sup>70</sup>A *barmalema*<sup>C</sup>.    <sup>71</sup>C adds *satu*.    <sup>72</sup>A *m-d-w*.

<sup>73</sup>from B; C *di balik tirai di luar kota itu. Apabila hendak disuruhkannya akan segala biduannya bernyanyi*.

<sup>74</sup>B and C *datang*.

makan (minum segala bagai-bagai nikmat)<sup>75</sup> dan memakai pelbagai bau-bauan. Demikianlah halnya hingga datang pada kira-kira dua puluh tujuh tahun lamanya.

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari<sup>76</sup> ada ia duduk dalam maligainya kira-kira tengah malam. Tiba-tiba didengarnya suara orang bernyanyi di luar maligainya itu dengan suara yang amat merdu bersalahan dengan suara biduannya. (Maka lekatlah suara itu dalam hatinya lalu didiamkannya akan segala biduannya)<sup>77</sup> daripada bernyanyi serta dikeluarkannya kepalanya dari tingkap<sup>78</sup> maligai itu kepada pihak jalan raya supaya menengar suara orang bernyanyi itu. Maka didengarkannya suara itu terkadang nyaring dan terkadang perlahan. Maka iapun menyuruh seorang sahayanya memanggil orang bernyanyi itu, dan adalah ia pada ketika itu dalam mabuknya.

289 Hatta maka sahayanya itu pergilah memanggil orang bernyanyi itu. Maka dilihatnya ada seorang laki-laki muda lagi kurus tubuhnya, dan jenjang lehernya lagi pucat warna mukanya, dan tipis kedua bibirnya, dan kusut rambutnya, dan kempis perutnya sampai ke belakangnya. Dan adalah ia memakai dua helai kain sapar pinggan, sehelai diperkainnya, dan sehelai diperselimutnya, lagi tiada ia berkahus. Dan ada ia berdiri di dalam masjid munaajat ia ke hadirat Allah Taala. Maka dibawanya oleh sahayanya itu tiada dikatanya suatu jua pun hingga didirikannya di<sup>79</sup> hadapan tuannya. Maka Musa anak Muhammadpun menilik kepadanya serta katanya, "Siapa laki-laki ini?" Maka sahut sahaya itu, "Inilah laki-laki yang bernyanyi yang tuan dengar suaranya itu." Maka kata Musa anak Muhammad, "Di mana kamu dapat akan dia?" Maka sahutlah sahaya itu, "Ada ia dalam masjid sembahyang seraya ia membaca ia." Maka kata Musa anak Muhammad akan laki-laki itu, "Hai laki-laki yang muda, apa yang tuan baca itu?" Maka sahut orang muda itu, "Bahwasanya yang hamba

<sup>75</sup>from B and C. <sup>76</sup>C *malam*. <sup>77</sup>from B; C is confused.

<sup>78</sup>A *tingkeb*. <sup>79</sup>*didirikannya di: C lari ke*.



baca kalam Allah." Maka kata Musa anak Muhammad, "Tuan baca apakah kiranya supaya hamba dengar yang tuan baca itu."

Maka laki-laki itupun lalu membaca, "Audzubillahi min asy-syaitani'r-rajimi. Inna 'l-abrāra lafī na<sup>80</sup>imin <sup>80</sup>ala 'l-arā'iki yanzurūna ta<sup>80</sup>rifu fī wujūhihim nadrata 'l-na<sup>80</sup>imi yusqawna min rahīqin makhtūmin khitamuhi miskun wa-fī dhalika fa-'lyatanāfasi 'l-mutanāfisūna wa-mizājūhu min tasnīmin <sup>80</sup>aynan yashrabu bihā 'l-muqarrabūna.

Artinya: Bahwasanya segala yang membawa amal kebajikan itu dalam syurga di atas geta yang bertirai dan memandang mereka itu kepada barang yang dianugerahai Allah Taala akan dia daripada beberapa nikmat. Kelihatan mukanya mereka itu keelokan segala nikmat. Lagi akan disulangnya akan mereka itu daripada minuman khamar yang suci, termeterai bejananya tiada membuka dia melainkan empunya khamar itu jua. Dan ada lagi minuman itu daripada kesturi. Maka akan anugeraha yang demikian itu. Hendaklah segala yang menggemari dia itu mengerjakan taat akan Allah Taala dengan segeranya. Dan menyampuri dia minuman itu sungai bernama Tasnim. Padahal mengalir sungai itu pada segala maligai mereka itu daripada tempat kediaman sekalian mereka itu, dipenuhilah oleh sungai itu segala bejana mereka itu. Apabila penuhlah bejana itu, maka berhentilah ia. Lagi akan minum air sungai itu segala mereka yang damping kepada Allah Taala."

Maka kata laki-laki yang muda itu akan Musa anak Muhammad, "Hai yang magrur<sup>80</sup>, bahwasanya mencela yang tersebut dalam yang kubaca ini bersalahan dengan majelis yang tinggi dan hamparanmu ini. Bahwasanya majelis dalam surga itu beberapa geta yang indah-indah papannya daripada emas bertatahkan zabarjad dan yakut dan mutiara, yang terhampar di atas beberapa daripada hamparan yang tinggi. Dan ada di bawah segala hamparan itu suatu hamparan daripada dibaj<sup>81</sup> yang berpakankan emas dan segala tepinya berumbairumbaikan mutiara. Dan adalah segala isi surga itu

<sup>80</sup>C mendengar. <sup>81</sup>A d-y-b-a-j.

bersandar di atas hamparan yang hijau, dan beberapa pula daripada hamparan yang indah-indah lagi dengan luasnya di atas hamparan: Itulah tempat kedudukan segala wali Allah.

Dan adapun setengah daripada nikmat surga itu dua sungai yang mengalir airnya kepada dua surga. Dan adalah dalam surga itu beberapa daripada jenis buah-buahan. Dan pada tiap-tiap suatu jenis dua bagi buahnya, suatu mengkal, kedua kering, dengan tiada berkeputusan buahnya pada suatu masa jua pun. Dan adalah segala isi surga itu sentiasa dengan kesukaan dalam surga yang maha tinggi, tiada didengar mereka itu dalam surga daripada perkataan yang sia-sia. Dan ada dalam surga itu sungai yang mengalir dan beberapa daripada geta yang tinggi dan beberapa kendi dan bantal yang terhantar dan beberapa pula daripada hamparan<sup>82</sup> di bawah pohon Tuba dan beberapa daripada makan-makanan yang sentiasa dan rukyat Allah Taala: Inilah kesudah-sudahan nikmat surga bagi segala yang takut akan Allah Taala.

Dan kesudah-sudahan tempat kediaman segala kafir itu neraka. Dan beberapa daripada bahaya neraka itu bahwasanya segala yang durhaka akan Allah Taala itu dalam azab neraka, sentiasa mereka itu kekal dalamnya tiadalah lekas mereka itu daripadanya. /<sup>83</sup> Dan dihelakan mereka itu ke dalam api neraka pada muka mereka itu, serta kata malaikat yang menghela mereka itu, 'Rasailah oleh kamu azab hangat api neraka ini!' Maka tatkala itu segala yang durhaka akan Allah Taala dikenang-kenang mereka itu akan segala anak isterinya dan saudaranya dan segala kaumnya yang mengasihi dia dan barang yang ada seisi bumi daripada melupakan dia daripada azab neraka. Maka tiada jua luput mereka itu daripada azab Allah seorang jua pun. Bahwasanya neraka itu sangat hangatnya, mengancurkan segala daging anggota<sup>84</sup>. Maka neraka itupun berseru-seru demikian bunyinya serunya,

---

<sup>82</sup>C adds *yang terhampar*.

<sup>83</sup> / dan.

<sup>84</sup>A *a-ng-g-a-h-w-t*.

'Mari engkau, hai yang durhaka, hai yang berpaling daripada yang sebenarnya, hai yang menghimpunkan segala arta, yang tiada dengan memberi hak Allah dalam kesukaran yang amat kesukaran dan azab yang amat keras dan murka daripada Tuhan (seru)<sup>85</sup> sekalian alam.' Dan tiadalah mereka itu keluar daripada api neraka."

291 Demi didengar Musa anak Muhammad segala nasihat ia, maka ia-pun berdirilah daripada tempatnya duduk lalu dipeluknya akan laki-laki muda itu serta ia menangis. Lalu ia katanya pula akan segala isi rumahnya, "Nyahlah<sup>86</sup> kamu daripadaku!" Lalu keluarlah ia ke halaman rumahnya, serta duduk ia dengan laki-laki muda itu di atas tikar | lalu ia mengherik serta berbiji sabak<sup>87</sup> akan dirinya. Dan diajarinya<sup>88</sup> jua akan dia oleh laki muda itu hingga waktu<sup>89</sup> subuh.

Maka Musa anak Muhammadpun tobatlah kepada Allah Taala dan tiadalah ia berbuat maksiat sekali-kali. Maka tatkala pagi-pagi hari menyatakan tobatnya dan duduklah ia dalam masjid dengan berbuat ibadat akan Allah Taala. Maka disuruhnya jualkan segala artanya daripada emas dan perak dan permata dan segala pakaian. Maka disedekahkannya sekalian itu dan diputuskannya sangkutan hatinya daripada segala hawa nafsunya. Dan dijualnya pula segala perhiasan dan sahaya laki-laki dan perempuan. Maka dimerdehkakannya barang siapa yang dikehendaki dan disedekahkannya sekaliannya itu. Lalu dipakainyalah sehelai baju kumbala dan adalah ia semalam suntuk berjaga berbuat ibadat. Dan puasa ia pada siang harinya hingga datanglah mengunjungi dia segala saleh dan segala orang yang pilihan serta kata mereka itu akan dia, "Kasihani oleh tuanhamba akan /<sup>90</sup> (diri tuanhamba!)<sup>91</sup> Bahwasanya Allah Taala Tuhan yang amat mulia menerima perbuatan yang sedikit, membalas pahala yang banyak."

<sup>85</sup> from B and C. <sup>86</sup> C *berahilah*. <sup>87</sup> A *barbīji sābaq*.

<sup>88</sup> A *dicarinya*; C *diajarinya*. <sup>89</sup> B and C *datang*.

<sup>90</sup> / akan dia dari karena tuanhambalah. <sup>91</sup> from B and C.

Maka sahut Musa anak Muhammad, "Hai segala saudara hamba, sanya hamba ketahuilah akan hal diri hamba, bahwa ada dosa hamba itu amat besar dengan berbuat durhaka pada Allah Taala malam dan siang." Lalu menangislah ia akan dirinya serta dengan banyaknya tangisnya. Kemudian dari itu maka iapun pergilah naik haji dengan berjalan tiadalah berkaus dan tiada ada suatu jua pun sertanya, melainkan suatu kendi dan suatu garba<sup>92</sup>, hingga sampailah ia ke Makah yang mulia itu lalu naik hajilah ia. Tatkala selesailah ia daripada naik haji, maka duduklah ia dalam Makah hingga<sup>93</sup> kembali ke rahmatullah.

## Story 12

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain<sup>94</sup> semayam di dalam percintaannya dan tiada ia keluar /<sup>95</sup> dari istananya. Tatkala itu Jalinus Hakimpun masuk mengadap, maka dilihatnya Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain dalam percintaannya, maka sembahnya, "Ya tuhanku, syah alam, apa dipercintakan maka tiada syah alam keluar dari istana?" Maka sabda sultan, "Bahwa percintaan hamba ini karena kerajaan dunia ini tiada berapa lamanya dan tiada kekal lagi akan hilang jua adanya tak dapat tiada memberi susah dan menyusahkan segala manusia jua adanya. Maka daripada pekerjaan yang sia-sia itulah yang kupercintakan."

Maka sembah Jalinus Hakim, "Sebenarnyalah seperti bicara syah alam itu bahwa dunia ini tiada berapa kerajaannya lagi tiada kekal menyusahkan diri jua adanya. Tetapi kerajaan dunia ini suatu tanda daripada kerajaan akhirat

<sup>92</sup> A *garba*; C *g-r-b-a*; used to render the Arabic *jirāb*.

<sup>93</sup> C *sampai*. <sup>94</sup> C adds *tiada*.

<sup>95</sup> / *ia*, to agree with the reading in B and C.

292

yang mahabesar lagi tiada berkesudahan kerajaannya. Maka adalah kerajaan akhirat itu mengikut kerajaan dunia jua. Jikalau ada dikerjakan kerajaan dunia itu dengan sebenarnya niscaya diperolehnya kerajaan akhirat yang kekal lagi tiada terkira-kira ia kemuliaannya."

Demi didengar Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain sembah Jalinus Hakim demikian itu, maka iapun sukacitalah

(i) Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah mengerjakan segala pekerjaan dalam dunia karena akhirat.

(ii) Seperti sabda Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) menceritakan kata Nabi Allah Dawud, "*Ni<sup>c</sup>ma 'l-<sup>c</sup>awn al-yasār 'alā 'l-dayn.*"

Artinya: Sebaik-baik tolong pada agama itu kekayaannya.

### Story 13

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain berangkat dengan segala bala tentaranya hingga sampai ia kepada sebuah negeri. Adalah kaum negeri itu papa, tiada ada suatu jua pun padanya daripada arta dunia, dan adalah masing-masing mereka itu mengorek kuburnya di halaman rumahnya di sisi segala kubur orang yang sudah mati. Dan adalah adat mereka itu pada tiap-tiap ketika mengunjung segala kubur disapuinya dan diperbaikinya. Syahdan adalah sekalian mereka itu berbuat ibadat akan Allah Taala di sisi kubur itu dan tiada ada bagi mereka itu makan (hanya makan)<sup>96</sup> rumput dan daun kayu.

Maka dititahkan sultan seorang-orang, "Pergi panggil raja

---

<sup>96</sup>from C.

kaum itu." Maka orang itupun pergilah. Apabila datanglah ia kepada raja itu serta katanya, "Ya tuhanku, syah alam, bahwa tuanhamba dipanggil Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain." Maka sahut raja itu, "Tiada mau (aku)<sup>97</sup> pergi. Dan apa hajatku kepadanya?" Maka orang yang memanggil itupun kembalilah serta dipersembahkan kata raja itu.

Demi didengar sultan sembah mereka itu, lalu iapun berangkat mendapatkan raja itu. Tatkala berlihatlah sultan dengan raja itu serta ia berkata, "Hai raja, apa hal tuanhamba? Bahwasanya hamba lihat pada tuanhamba tiada ada pada suatu jua daripada emas dan perak dan daripada segala nikmat dunia." Maka sahut raja itu, "Ya Zulkarnain, karena segala nikmat dunia itu tiada (segala)<sup>98</sup> menginginkan seorang jua pun." Maka kata Zulkarnain akan dia, "Apa sebabnya tuanhamba dan segala kaum tuanhamba mengorek kubur di halaman rumah?" Maka sahut raja itu, "Ya Zulkarnain, karena menilik kepada kubur itu supaya sentiasa kami ingat akan /<sup>99</sup> (maut)<sup>100</sup> dan hilanglah kasih kami akan dunia. Dan tiadalah kami masygul dengan dunia ini daripada berbuat ibadat akan Tuhan kami."

Maka kata Zulkarnain akan dia, "Hai raja, betapa tuanhamba sekalian makan rumput dan segala daun kayu itu?" Maka sahut raja itu, "Ya Zulkarnain, bahwasanya kami sekalian tiada mau menjadikan perut kami akan tempat ular karena banyak makanan itu jadi kebengkalan<sup>101</sup>." Serta ia memanjangkan tangannya, lalu dikeluarkannya sebuah tengkorak dari dalam lubang bumi itu. Maka dihantarkannya di hadapan Zulkarnain serta katanya, "Ya Zulkarnain, tahukah tuanhamba siapa orang ini?" Maka sahut Zulkarnain, "Tiada hamba ketahui." Maka kata raja itu, "Inilah tengkorak seorang yang besar mengimpunkan dunia ini. Dan adalah ia

<sup>97</sup>from B and C.    <sup>98</sup>from B and C.    <sup>99</sup>/ sesuatu.

<sup>100</sup>from C; B follows A.

<sup>101</sup>A *kabangkēlānan*; B *k-b-ng-k-l-a-n-n*; C *k-m-ng-k-l-a-n-n*; *kebengkalan* is found in the *Syair Perang Mengkasar* (Skinner 1963 p255).

berbuat aniaya sangat akan segala rakyatnya dan akan segala orang kasian miskin. Dan adalah kerjanya tatkala hidupnya mengimpunkan dunia jua. Maka dimatikan Allah Taala akan dia, lalu dimasukkan ke dalam neraka."

Setelah itu maka ia mengurukkan tangannya pula kepada suatu liang bumi serta dikeluarkannya suatu tengkorak. Lagi pula dihantarkannya di hadapan Zulkarnain maka katanya, "Ya Zulkarnain, tahukah tuanhamba siapa ini?" Maka sahut Zulkarnain, "Tiada hamba tahu." Maka kata raja itu, "Inilah tengkorak seorang raja besar terlalu adil mengasihi segala rakyatnya. Maka dimatikan Allah Taala akan dia, dan dimasukkannya ke dalam surga ditinggikannya martabatnya."

Setelah itu maka dijabat raja itu akan kepala Zulkarnain serta katanya, "Ya Zulkarnain, kepala ini jadi seperti kepala orang yang kedua inilah." Demi didengar olehnya kata raja itu, maka iapun menangislah dengan tangis yang amat sangat, lalu dipeluknya akan raja itu serta katanya akan dia, "Hai raja, maukah tuanhamba bersama-sama dengan hamba supaya hamba jadikan tuanhamba akan wazir hamba? Dan hamba bahagikan kerajaan hamba akan tuanhamba." Maka sahut raja itu, "Ah! Ah! Tiadalah hamba akan ingin yang demikian itu."

Maka kata Zulkarnain akan (dia)<sup>102</sup>, "Apa sebab maka tuanhamba tiada mau akan yang demikian itu?" Maka sahut raja itu, "Ya Zulkarnain, bahwasanya karena dunia dan kerajaan adalah segala hulubalang dan segala rakyat tuanhamba itu seteru tuanhamba jua. Dan adalah sekalian kaum hamba ini berkasih-kasihan dengan hamba sebab hamba kanah berpada-pada. Kembalilah tuanhamba, Allah Taala jua serta tuanhamba." Maka Iskandar Zulkarnainpun kembalilah.

- (i) Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah yang percaya akan hari akhirat: Hendaklah ia sentiasa menyebut mati.

---

<sup>102</sup>from C.

- (ii) Seperti firman Allah Taala yang tersebut dalam Quran,  
*"Al-ladhī khalaqa 'l-mawta wa-'l-hayāta li-yablūwakum  
 ayyukum ahsanu 'amalan."*

Artinya: Ia jua Tuhan yang menjadikan maut dan hayat supaya  
 /<sup>103</sup> (mencoba)<sup>104</sup> kamu siapa daripada kamu membawa amal  
 kebajikan.

- (iii) Sekali persetua pada suatu hari Siti Aisyah (radi Allah  
 anha) berdatang sembah, "Ya Rasul Allah, adakah menyamai  
 pahala orang mati syahid dengan yang tiada mati syahid?"  
 Maka sabda Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam), *"Man dhakara  
 'l-mawta kulla yawmin 'ishrīn marratan kāna lahu mithlu  
 ajri 'l-shuhadā'i wa-darajātihim."*

Artinya: Barang siapa menyebut maut pada tiap-tiap hari  
 dua puluh kali, adalah baginya pahala seperti orang mati  
 syahid lagi diperoleh mereka itu martabatnya syahid.

- (iv) Dan lagi sabda Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam), *"Akthirū  
 min dhikri 'l-mawti fa-innahu yamhu 'l-dhunūb wa-yubarriidū  
 'ubb al-dunyā fi 'l-qulūbi."*

294

Artinya: Perbanyakkan olehmu menyebut-nyebut maut, maka  
 bahwasanya yang demikian itu menghapuskan sekalian dosa  
 dan meninggalkan kasih akan dunia daripada hati. Noktah.

- (v) Tersurat di atas makota Raja Kay Khusrau bait ini demikian  
 bunyinya: *"Āi sālḥā-yi faravān w 'umrḥā-yi dirāz \* Ki  
 ḥalq bar sar-i mā bar zamīn baḥvahadraft."*

Artinya: Jikalau berapa tahun sekalipun lanjut umur, \*  
 Bahwasanya segala manusia datang jua menjejaki tanah kepala  
 kamu jua adanya.

*Cunānki dast badast āmadast mulk bomā \* Badastḥā-yi digar  
 hamcūnīn baḥvahadraft."*

Seperti segala kerajaan yang datang turun-temurun sampai  
 kepada kamu, \* Demikianlah tinggal jua kepada orang yang  
 kemudian daripada kamu sanya /<sup>105</sup> (hikmat)<sup>106</sup>." /<sup>107</sup>

<sup>103</sup> / menjawab. <sup>104</sup> from C; B follows A. <sup>105</sup> / hukum.

<sup>106</sup> from C. <sup>107</sup> / n-k-a-t; a confusion between noktah and kata?



(vi) (Kata)<sup>108</sup> Abu'l-Hasan al-Ahwazi: Bahwa dunia ini tiada jua jernih pada orang yang meminum dia, dan tiadalah ia kekal pada yang empunya dia. Maka ambillah olehmu juadah<sup>109</sup> pada hari ini akan esok harimu.

(vii) Ada tersurat syair ini di atas kubur Sultan Yakub ibn Laith di benua Khurasani demikian bunyinya: "*Khurāsān ahwīhā wa-aknāfa fārisin \* Wa-mā kuntu 'an mulki 'l-'irāqi bi-ījisī.*"

Artinya: Bahwasanya akulah yang mengimpunkan benua Khurasani dan benua Farsi; \* Lagi akulah yang mengimpunkan benua Irak dengan berdamai sanya.

*Salāmun 'ala 'l-dunyā watībi nasūmihā \* Ka'an lam yakun ya'qūbu fīhā bi-jālisī.*

Sejahtera atas dunia dan sebaik-baik /<sup>110</sup> segala nikmatnya, \* Seoleh-oleh Yakub tiadalah ia dalam kerajaan adanya."

#### Story 14

Kata Abu Hurairah (radi Allah anhu):

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari Rasul Allah (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) bersabda kepada hamba, "Hai Abu Hurairah, maukah kutunjukkan kepadamu hal ahual dunia ini?" Maka kata hamba, "Bahkan, ya Rasul Allah, mau hamba." Maka dipegang Rasul Allah (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) tangan hamba, lalu dibawanya berjalan hamba. Maka Rasul Allahpun berdiri serta hamba pada tempat orang membuang serasah. Pada tempat itu beberapa tengkorak segala manusia terbangun dan beberapa daripada tulang yang buruk luluh lantak, dan beberapa daripada perca buruk berkeping berlumas-lumas dengan tahi.

Maka sabda Rasul Allah (sallallahu alaihi wa salam), "Ya Abu

<sup>108</sup>from C. <sup>109</sup>A juādah; B z-w-a-d-h; C z-w-a-d-a-h.

<sup>110</sup>/ dunialah.

295 Hurairah, inilah tengkorak segala manusia yang kaulihat ini adalah ia seperti kepala kamu yang penuh loba<sup>111</sup> dan usaha pada mengimpunkan arta dunia dan adalah segala manusia yang empunya tengkorak ini (harap)<sup>112</sup> mereka itu akan lanjut umur mereka itu seperti harap kamu. Dan adalah mereka itu menghimpunkan segala arta dan meramaikan segala perhiasan dunia, seperti kamu menghimpunkan dunia sekarang ini. Maka sekarang jadi bercerai-berailah segala tulang mereka itu dan hancur luluhlah segala tubuh mereka itu dan perca yang kaulihat | inilah pakaian mereka itu yang beperhiasan dengan dia pada masa kekayaannya, serta mereka itu /<sup>113</sup> (membesarkan)<sup>114</sup> diri mereka itu bergagahkan diri mereka itu. Maka sekarang telah ditiupkan<sup>115</sup> anginlah ia kepada najis.

Dan inilah tulang segala binatang kederaan mereka itu, dan segala najis inilah makanan mereka itu yang lezat yang ada mereka itu berebut-rebut daripada menghasilkan dia. Dan karena inilah dirampas mereka itu setengahnya akan setengahnya. Sanya sekarang telah dibuang akan oranglah /<sup>116</sup> ia kepada tempat orang membuang serasah yang tiada seseorang jua pun hampir kepada tempat ini daripada sangat busuk baunya. Maka inilah jumlah segala hal dunia seperti yang kaulihat dan kaupandang ini. Barang siapa hendaklah menangis akan bahaya dunia, maka menangislah ia, bahwasanya inilah tempat menangis."

Kata Abu Hurairah, maka menangislah segala sahabat yang hadir pada ketika itu.

- (i) Dan lagi sabda Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam), "*Ih<sup>h</sup>dhiru 'l-dunyā fa-innāhā asharu min hārūta wa-mārūta.*" (Artinya)<sup>117</sup>: Jauhi oleh kamu akan dunia, bahwasanya ia daripada hubatan Harut wa<sup>118</sup> Marut.

<sup>111</sup> penuh loba: A penah (?) loba; B penah haloba; C penuh dengan loba.

<sup>112</sup> from C. <sup>113</sup> / memberi mesrakan. <sup>114</sup> from C; B membersarkan.

<sup>115</sup> C diterbangkan. <sup>116</sup> / ia kepada tempat oranglah.

<sup>117</sup> from B and C. <sup>118</sup> C dan.

- (ii) Kata arif: Bahwa adalah hubatan dunia itu ditunjukkan dirinya kepadanya, bahwasanya ia sentiasa lari daripadamu dengan sekali sezarah dan senafas.
- (iii) Dan adalah misal dunia itu upama naung, apabila kaulihat akan dia, maka pada sangkamu tetaplah dunia itu ada sentiasa berubah jua. Demikian lagi umurmu pun sentiasa kurang jua pada tiap-tiap kejam mata.
- (iv) Dan lagi misal dunia itu upama seorang perempuan yang perdeser<sup>119</sup> lagi menipu segala laki-laki. Apabila berahilah laki-laki itu akan dia, maka dibawanyalah ke rumahnya hingga diramah-ramahinyalah akan dia. Maka pada kesudahannya jadi dibinasakannyalah akan dia.

#### Story 15

Sekali perisetua pada suatu hari Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam) berdatang sembah ke hadirat Allah Taala demikian sembahnya, "Ya sayidi wa ya Ilahi wa maulaya, Kaupertunjukkan kiranya hamba-Mu dunia."

Maka ditunjukkan Allah Taala ia kepada Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam) dengan rupa seorang perempuan yang amat<sup>120</sup> tuha. Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam) akan dia, "Hai perempuan yang tuha, berapa ada bagimu suami?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya nabi Allah, bahwa adalah suami hamba tiada terkira-kira banyaknya." Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Bahwasanya suamimu itu matikah atau bercerai<sup>121</sup> akan dikau?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya nabi Allah, bahwa hambalah membinasakan mereka itu hingga hamba bunuh akan dia."

---

<sup>119</sup>A *pardisir*; B *p-r-d-sir*; C *p-r-disir*; *deser* - urge, incite (Wilkinson 1959 p 278).

<sup>120</sup>C *sangat*. <sup>121</sup>B and C *mentalak*.

296

Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai kamu sekalian, ajaib aku akan segala yang tiada berakal, bahwa dilihat mereka itu akan halmu yang demikian, maka betapa kutaha<sup>122</sup> mereka itu mau mengasihi dikau dan tiada mereka itu mengambil ibarat melihat halmu itu?"

## Story 16

Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan kelakuan segala aulia Allah yang<sup>123</sup> dahulu kala.

- (a) Seperti firman Allah Taala yang tersebut dalam Quran,  
*"Wa-man yuti<sup>c</sup>i 'llāha wa-'l-rasūla fa-'ulā'ika ma<sup>c</sup>a  
 'l-ladhīna an<sup>c</sup>ama 'llāhu<sup>c</sup> alayhim mina 'l-nabiyyīna  
 wa-'l-siddīqīna wa-'l-shuhadā'i wa-'l-sālihinā wa-hasuna  
 'ulā'ika rafīqan dhālika 'l-fadlu mina 'llāhi wa-kafā  
 bi-'llāhi<sup>c</sup> alīman."*

Artinya: Barang siapa mengikut Allah dan Rasulnya pada barang yang disuruh-Nya, maka mereka itulah serta segala yang dianugerahai Allah Taala makrifat yang menyampaikan dia ke badirat-Nya daripada segala nabi dan daripada segala sadikin<sup>124</sup>, yaitu Abu Bakar dan segala yang mengikut perangnya, dan segala syahid yang terbunuh dalam perang sabil Allah dan segala orang saleh-saleh. Dan mereka itulah sebaik-baik bertolan dan kunjung-kunjungan dalam surga merasai nikmat berpandangan<sup>125</sup> kepada Allah Taala dalamnya dengan bersama-sama sekalian mereka itu. Jikalau ada martabat mereka itu dan tempat kediaman mereka itu berlain-lainan sekalipun, yaitulah dianugerahai Allah akan mereka itu kafalah Allah mengetahui balas pahala mereka itu dalam akhirat.

Kata ahlulmufasirin:

<sup>122</sup>A kutahu. <sup>123</sup>B, C and E pada jaman.

<sup>124</sup>A siddīqīna; B, C and E sadik. <sup>125</sup>B, C and E rukyat.

Turun ayat ini karena seorang sahabat Rasul Allah (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) bernama Thauban terlalu sangat ia berbuat khidmat akan Nabi Allah, dan adalah ia sentiasa bersama-sama dengan Nabi Allah. Hatta berapa lamanya maka pada suatu hari bercintalah ia serta katanya, "Wah, /<sup>126</sup> selama ada hayat Nabi Allah dalam dunia ini adalah aku bersama-sama dengan dia, dan tatkala dalam akhirat adalah martabat Nabi Allah dan tempat kediamannya mahatinggi. Maka betapa halku akan bersama-sama dengan dia?" Setelah itu berpikir demikian maka hatinyapun terlalu masygullah dengan dia demikian itu sekira-kira berapa hari lamanya, maka tubuhnyapun jadi kuruslah dan warna mukanyapun berubahlah dengan pucatnya.

Maka tatkala dilihat Nabi Allah halnya yang demikian itu, maka sabda Nabi Allah akan dia, "Hai Thauban, betapa halmu yang demikian ini? Apa jua ada suatu percintaan dalam hatimu?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya Rasul Allah, bahwasanya telah bercinta hamba akan diri hamba, sekarang tatkala ada hayat tuanhamba dalam dunia ini adakah hamba bersama-sama dengan tuanhamba, dan tatkala dalam akhirat adakah hamba pada martabat tuanhamba dan kediaman tuanhamba /<sup>127</sup> terlalu tinggi? Maka betapa hal hamba bersama-sama dengan tuanhamba? Maka dari karena inilah hati hambamu sangat masygul akan diri hamba."

297 Maka sabda Nabi Allah, "Hai Thauban, bahwasanya, engkaupun bersama-samalah dengan orang yang kaukasihi itu." Maka tatkala itulah turun ayat yang telah tersebut itu.

- (i) Dan seperti firman Allah Taala dalam hadis kudsi, "*Man 'ada lī waliyyan fa-qad 'adhantuhu bi-'l-harbi wa-mā taqarraba ilayya 'abdi bi-shay'in ahabba ilayya minmā 'ftaradtuhu 'alayhi wa-mā yazālu 'abdi yataqarrabu ilayya bi-'l-nawāfili hattā uhibbahu.*"

Artinya: Barang siapa berseteru dengan wali-Ku, maka sanya Aku memberi tahu akan dia dengan memerangi dia, dan barang

---

<sup>126</sup> / ada.    <sup>127</sup> / dan kediaman tuanhamba.

ibadat yang menghampirkan<sup>128</sup> dirinya kepada-Ku oleh hamba-Ku dengan sesuatu ibadat itu terlebih Kukasihi, yaitu barang ibadat yang Kufardukan atasnya, dan adalah sentiasa hamba-Ku mendampingkan dirinya kepada-Ku dengan membawa segala ibadat yang sunah hingga Kukasihi akan dia.

*Fa-idhā aḥbābū kuntu sam<sup>c</sup>ahu 'l-ladhī yasma<sup>c</sup>u bihi wa-basarahu 'l-ladhī yubsi<sup>c</sup>ru bihi wa-yadahu 'l-latī yabtishu bihā wa-rijlahu 'l-latī yamshī bihā wa-in sa'alani<sup>c</sup> la'u<sup>c</sup>tiyinnahu wa-la'in ista<sup>c</sup>adhanī la'u<sup>c</sup>idhannahu.*

Maka apabila Kukasihi akan dia, maka Aku jadi telinganya yang ia mendengar dengan dia; dan Aku jadi matanya yang ia melihat dengan dia; dan Aku jadi tangannya yang ia memegang dengan dia; dan Aku jadi kakinya yang ia berjalan dengan dia. Dan jika ia minta /<sup>129</sup> sesuatu kepada-Ku, niscaya Kukaruniai akan dia. Dan jika ia berlindung kepada-Ku, niscaya Kulindungi akan dia." Adapun rencana<sup>130</sup> pada telinga dan mata dan tangan dan kaki itu seperti dituruti oleh segala anggota akan segala barang yang dikehendaki empunya anggota; demikian lagi Allah subhanahu wa taala berkenankan segala barang yang dikehendaki wali itu.

(ii) Dan lagi firman Allah Taala dalam hadis kudsi, "Inna aḥbāta awliyā'i<sup>c</sup> 'indī al-mu'minūn khafīfu 'l-ḥadhi dhu ḥazzin minā 'l-salāti aḥsana<sup>c</sup> 'ibādātu rabbihi wa-'atā<sup>c</sup>ahu fi 'l-sirri wa-kāna ḡāmidan fi 'l-nāsi.

Artinya: Terlebih Kukasihi dan Kucita-citakan pada segala wali-Ku mukmin yang tiada bermilik dan tiada berisi<sup>131</sup> rumahnya lagi dengan citarasa ia membawa sembahyang dan sebaik-baik ia membawa kebaktian akan Tuhannya, dan dibawanya dengan buni<sup>132</sup>. Dan adalah ia terbuni<sup>133</sup> daripada segala manusia.

*Lā yushāru ilayhi bi-'l-asābi<sup>c</sup>i wa-kāna rizquhu kafāfan fa-sabara<sup>c</sup> 'alā dhālika thumma nafada bi-yadihi fa-qāla<sup>c</sup> 'ujjilat manīyyatuhu qallat bawākīhi qalla turāthuhu.*

<sup>128</sup> B, C and E mendampingkan. <sup>129</sup> / ia.

<sup>130</sup> A rancana; B, C and E r-a-j-n. <sup>131</sup> A barāsa.

<sup>132</sup> A buni; C and E bunyi. <sup>133</sup> A tārūni.

Tiada mengisyaratkan seorang jua pun kepadanya dengan jari. Dan adalah rezekinya berpada-pada. Maka disabarkannyalah atasnya demikian itu. Maka diisyaratkan Nabi Allah dengan tangannya sendiri. Maka sabdanya, 'Segeralah ia matinya dan kuranglah yang menaugisi dia dan kuranglah pusaknya.'"

# Story 17

Kata Ibn Masud (radi Allah anhu) ia menengar daripada Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) katanya:

298

Bersabda Nabi Allah bahwasanya Aliah Taala menjadikan dalam bumi tiga ratus laki-laki, | hati mereka itu seperti hati Nabi Adam. Dan ada dijadikan Allah empat puluh laki-laki, hati mereka itu seperti hati Nabi Allah Musa. Dan dijadikan Allah Taala tujuh orang laki-laki, hati mereka itu seperti hati Nabi Allah Ibrahim. Dan ada dijadikan Allah Taala lima orang laki-laki, hati mereka itu seperti hati Jibrail. Dan ada dijadikan Allah Taala tiga orang laki-laki, hati mereka itu seperti hati Mikail. Dan ada dijadikan Allah Taala seorang laki-laki, hatinya seperti Israfil (alaihi assalam).

Maka apabila mati yang seorang itu, maka digantikan Allah Taala seorang daripada yang tiga. Maka apabila mati yang tiga itu seorang, maka digantikan Allah Taala seorang daripada yang lima. Maka apabila mati seseorang daripada yang lima itu, maka digantikan Allah Taala seseorang daripada yang tujuh. Maka apabila mati salah seorang daripada yang tujuh, maka digantikan Allah Taala seorang daripada yang empat puluh. Maka apabila mati salah seorang daripada yang empat puluh, maka digantikan Allah Taala seorang daripada yang tiga ratus. Maka apabila mati seseorang daripada yang tiga ratus, maka digantikan Allah Taala seorang daripada mukmin yang am. Sebab mereka itulah maka diluputkan Allah Taala bala daripada segala umatku ini. Adapun yang tersebut dalam hadis itu seorang yaitu bernama Kutub dan Ghauth pun namanya.

- (i) Dan kata baginda Ali (radi Allah anhu): Yang Abdal itu tempat kediamannya di benua Syam, dan Nujaba itu tempat kediamannya di benua Mesir, dan Asaib itu tempat kediamannya di benua Irak, dan Nukaba itu tempat kediamannya di benua Khurasani, dan Autad itu tempat kediamannya pada sekalian bumi. Syahdan Khidirlah penghulu sekalian mereka itu.
- (ii) Kata Khidir (alaihi assalam): Tiga ratus orang laki-laki bernama Aulia, dan tujuh puluh orang laki-laki bernama Nujaba, dan empat puluh laki-laki bernama Autad, dan seratus laki-laki bernama Urapa, dan tiga orang laki-laki bernama Mukhtaruna<sup>134</sup> dan seorang laki-laki bernama Ghauth.
- (iii) Dan sabda Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam), "*Budālā' ummatī arba'ūn rajulan ithnāni wa-<sup>c</sup>ishrūna bi-'l-shāmi wa-thamāniyata <sup>c</sup>ashara bi-'l-irāqi kullamā māta minhum wāhidun abdāl allāhu makanhu ākhar fa-idhā jā'a 'l-amru qubidū.*"
- Artinya: Segala (Abdal)<sup>135</sup> daripada umatku empat puluh dan dua puluh dua pada negeri Syam, dan delapan belas di benua Irak, barangkali mati seorang daripada mereka itu, maka diganti Allah Taala pada tempatnya seorang yang lain. Maka apabila datang hari kiamat, maka matilah sekalian mereka itu.

## Story 18

Kata Abu'd-Dardai (radi Allah anhu):

- 299 Bahwasanya Allah Taala menjadikan beberapa laki-laki bernama Abdal; tiada sampai mereka itu kepada martabat Abdal dengan (banyak)<sup>136</sup> puasa sunah dan banyak sembahyang sunah dan sangat merendahkan diri kepada Allah Taala dan baik kelakuan. Tetapi sampai (mereka itu)<sup>137</sup> kepada martabat

<sup>134</sup> A *Mukhtar*; but present spelling confirmed by A p 300.

<sup>135</sup> from B, C and E. <sup>136</sup> from B, C and E. <sup>137</sup> from B, C and E.



Abdal dengan sebenar-benar orang dan sebaik-baik niat, dengan memelihara hati dan mengasihani segala hamba Allah yang Islam. Dipilih Allah Taala akan mereka itu dengan pengetahuan-Nya, dan ditentukan mereka itu akan dirinya mereka itu empat puluh laki-laki, hati mereka itu seperti hati Nabi Ibrahim tiada mati seorang mereka itu hingga dijadikan Allah Taala kebaktian.

Ketahui olehmu bahwasanya kelakuan mereka itu tiada menyumpah akan sesuatu; dan tiada mereka itu melaknatkan<sup>138</sup> akan sesuatu; dan tiada mereka itu menyakit<sup>139</sup> akan barang siapa yang di bawah martabat mereka itu; dan tiada mereka itu dengki akan barang siapa yang di atas martabat mereka itu; dan baik daripada segala manusia pada membalaskan segala kebajikan; dan terlambat daripada segala manusia perangnya; dan terlebih murah daripada segala manusia.

Tiada mereka itu mendapat kuda yang tangkas dan angin yang keras pada barang hal yang antara mereka itu dan antara Tuhan mereka itu; hanya sanya hati mereka itu naik kepada segala langit yang tinggi karena kesukaan<sup>140</sup> mereka itu kepada Allah Taala dan rindu mereka itu kepada segala kebajikan. Mereka itulah tentara Allah Taala. Ketahui olehmu, mereka itulah yang berbahagia.

## Story 19

Kata Syekh Abdullah Yafii (radi Allah anhu):

Ada seorang saleh, Syekh Abdu'r-Rahman namanya, katanya:

Ada hamba duduk dalam Baitulmukadas di sisi kubur Nabi Allah Sulaiman (alaihi assalam) pada hari jumat kemudian

---

<sup>138</sup>C *melihatkan*. <sup>139</sup>from B, C and E; A *mengikut*.

<sup>140</sup>from B; A, C and E *kesukaran*.

daripada sembahyang asar. Maka hamba lihat dua orang laki-laki duduk, seorang daripada keduanya serupa dengan rupa manusia, dan yang seorang laki-laki itu besar panjang kejadiannya, ada bujur dahinya sekira-kira sehasta dan ada pada dahinya luka dijabatnya<sup>141</sup>.

300 Maka duduklah yang serupa manusia itu di sisi hamba serta ia memberi salam pada hamba, dan seorang laki-laki itu duduk jauh daripada hamba. Maka kata hamba akan dia, "Siapa tuhanhamba dikasihani Allah akan tuanhamba?" Maka sahutnya akan hamba, "Khidir." (Alaihi assalam.) Maka hamba tanya pula kepadanya, "Siapa laki-laki itu?" Maka sahutnya, "Saudara hamba Ilias." Maka datanglah ia kepada hamba serta katanya akan hamba, "Jangan takut engkau kami kasih akan dikau." Maka berkata pula ia kepada hamba, "Barang siapa sembahyang asar pada hari jumat maka ia mengadapi kiblat serta dibaca isim Allah ini, 'Ya Allah, ya Rahman,' hingga masuk matahari, maka ia memohonkan kepada Allah Taala barang suatu kehendaknya akan Dia, niscaya dikaruniakan Allah Taala kepadanya."

Maka kata hamba akan dia, "Tuan kasihi apakah kiranya akan hamba supaya dikasihi Allah akan tuanhamba." Serta bertanyanya kepadanya, "Tuan kenalkah segala wali Allah yang di bumi?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahkan, adalah segala aulia Allah itu tertentu bilangannya." Maka kata hamba, "Apa (arti)<sup>142</sup> tertentu bilangannya itu?" Maka sahutnya, "Sanya tatkala wafat Nabi kita (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) berdatang sembah bumi ke hadirat Allah Taala demikian sembahnya, 'Ya Tuhanku, tiadalah ada lagi tinggal yang berjalan di atas hamba-Mu seorang jua daripada nabi Allah hingga hari kiamat.' Maka firman Allah Taala, 'Hai bumi, sanya lagi akan Kujudikan daripada umat kekasih-Ku Muhammad beberapa laki-laki seperti anbiya dan adalah hati mereka itu seperti hati segala anbiya jua.'"

---

<sup>141</sup>E *dijahatnya*.      <sup>142</sup>from C.

Maka hamba tanya pula kepadanya, "Berapa banyaknya mereka itu?" Maka sahutnya, "Tiga ratus orang laki-laki bernama Aulia, dan tujuh puluh orang bernama Nujaba, dan empat puluh orang bernama Autad, dan sepuluh orang bernama Nukaba, dan tujuh orang bernama Urapa, dan tiga orang bernama Mukhtaruna dan seorang bernama Ghauth. Maka apabila mati Ghauth, maka dipilih seorang daripada Mukhtaruna, maka digantikannya martabat Ghauth; dan dipilih seorang daripada Urapa, maka digantikan pada martabat Mukhtaruna; dan dipilih seorang daripada Autad, maka digantikan pada martabat Nukaba; dan dipilih seorang daripada Nujaba, maka digantikan pada martabat Autad; dan dipilih daripada segala Aulia, maka digantikan pada martabat Nujaba; dan dipilih seorang saleh daripada dunia ini sekalian, maka digantikan pada martabat Aulia - demikianlah hingga hari kiamat.

Syahdan ada setengah mereka itu hatinya seperti hati Nabi Allah Musa dan seperti hati Nabi Allah Isa (alaihima assalam), dan setengah daripada mereka itu hatinya seperti hati Nabi Allah Nuh dan Nabi Allah Ibrahim (alaihima<sup>143</sup> assalam)." Maka kata hamba, "Seperti hati Nabi Ibrahim pun adalah?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahkan, dan ada seperti hati Jibrail dan Nabi Allah Dawud dan Nabi Allah Sulaiman (alaihima assalam)."

Maka kata Khidir (alaihi assalam), "Hai Abdu'r-Rahman, tiadalah kudengar firman Allah Taala: *Fa-bi-hudāhumu 'qtadīh*. Artinya: Maka dengan halnya mereka itu ikut olehmu ya Muhammad." Maka kata Khidir pula, "Tiada mati seseorang jua pun daripada segala nabi Allah melainkan adalah seorang menjalani seperti jalannya hingga datang kepada hari kiamat. Maka jikalau yang empat puluh Autad itu menilik kepada hati yang sepuluh Nukaba itu, niscaya diharuskan mereka itu membunuh mereka itu. Dan demikian lagi tujuh puluh yang bernama Nujaba itu, jikalau menilik mereka itu atas hati yang empat puluh itu, niscaya harus

301

---

<sup>143</sup> A, B and E *alaihi*.

mereka itu membunuh mereka itu."

Maka kata Khidir, "Hai Abdu'r-Rahman, tiadakah kaudengar daripada kisah Nabi Allah Musa dengan daku?" Maka kata hamba akan dia, "Daripada apa makanan tuanhamba?" Maka sahutnya, "Daripada biji ajmud<sup>144</sup> dan kamad<sup>145</sup>." Maka hamba tanya pula kepadanya, "Apa makanan Ilias (alaihi assalam)?" Maka sahutnya, "Dua biji roti daripada tepung yang terse-rekai<sup>146</sup> tiap-tiap malam dimakannya." Maka hamba tanya pula, "Di mana tempat kediaman Ilias (alaihi assalam)?" Maka sahutnya, "Pada segala pulau." Maka bertanya pula hamba kepadanya, "Adakah tuanhamba berhimpun?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahkan, ada kami berhimpun apabila mati seorang aulia Allah kami menyembahyangkan dia. Maka apabila musim naik haji ia mengandami<sup>147</sup> aku dan aku mengandami<sup>147</sup> dia." Maka kata hamba, "Tuan sebutkan apalah kiranya nama sekalian tuan-tuan yang tersebut itu pada hamba." Maka dikeluarkan-nya suatu sijil daripada tangan bajunya, ada dalamnya tersurat nama mereka itu sekalian.

Maka Khidir (alaihi assalam)-pun berdiri dan hambapun berdiri sertanya. Maka katanya akan hamba, "Ke mana engkau pergi?" Maka sahut hamba, "Hendak berjalan sama-sama tuanhamba." Maka sahutnya, "Tiada engkau dapat berjalan sama-sama dengan daku." Maka hamba tanya, "Ke mana maksud tuanhamba pergi?" Maka sahutnya, "Apa kehendakmu menanyai daku daripada demikian itu?" Maka kata hamba akan dia, "Hamba hendak sembahyang pada tempat tuanhamba supaya mengambil berkat hamba dengan dia." Maka katanya, "Bahwasanya aku sembahyang (subuh)<sup>148</sup> ke Makah. Maka duduklah aku pada

<sup>144</sup> A, B and E *ajmūd*; C *j-m-w-d*; used to translate Ar *karafs* (plant).

<sup>145</sup> A, B and E *kamād*; C *k-h-a-t*; used to translate Ar *kam'a* (truffles).

<sup>146</sup> A, B, C and E *terserkai*.

<sup>147</sup> A and B *mangendemi*; C and E *m-ng-n-d-m*; from the Acehese *andam* (to trim); the Arabic translates 'he cuts my hair and I cut his hair'.

<sup>148</sup> from B, C and E.

suatu batu di sisi Rukun Syami<sup>149</sup> hingga terbit matahari. Maka tawafilah aku pada Kaabah tujuh kali. Kemudian dari itu maka sembahyang aku di belakang makam Ibrahim dua rakaat. Kemudian dari itu maka sembahyang lohor aku di Madinah dan sembahyang asar aku di Baitulmukadas dan sembahyang magrib aku di Bukit Tursina dan sembahyang isya aku di atas kota Yajuj wa Majuj yang dikotai Iskandar Zulkarnain itu. Maka adalah aku berkawal di sana hingga pagi-pagi."

## Story 20

Kata Syekh Bilalu'l-Khawasi (rahmatullah alaihi):

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari ada hamba berjalan pada tempat padang bani Israil. Tiba-tiba hamba lihat seorang laki-laki berjalan sama-sama dengan hamba, lalu ajaiblah hamba daripada melihat dia. Maka diilhamkan Allah subhanahu wa taala dalam hati hamba bahwasanya ialah Khidir (alaihi assalam). Maka kata hamba akan dia, "Demi Allah, siapa tuanhamba?" Maka sahutnya, "Aku saudaramu Khidir." Maka kataku akan dia, "Hamba hendak bertanya sesuatu kepada tuanhamba." Maka katanya, "Tanyalah apa<sup>150</sup> kehendakmu." Maka kataku, "Tuanhamba katakan apa<sup>151</sup> martabat Imam Syafii?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahwa Imam Syafii itu daripada Autad." Dan aku bertanya pula, "Apalah<sup>152</sup> martabat Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbali?" Maka katanya, "Bahwa Imam Ahmad itu

---

<sup>149</sup>C Syafii; In Ibn Jubayr's description of Mecca, there is mention of the Syrian corner and the tomb of Abraham mentioned later in the story is of great contemplative importance (Lichtenstadter 1974 p 377 and 378).

<sup>150</sup>katanya tanyalah katakan apa: B, C and E sahutnya tanyalah olehmu barang.

<sup>151</sup>kataku tuanhamba katakan apa: B, C and E kata hamba akan dia apa tuanhamba katakan.

<sup>152</sup>dan aku bertanya pula apalah: B, C and E maka hamba tanya pula kepadanya akan tuanhamba katakan.

302 seorang hamba Allah yang sadik." Maka hamba tanya pula,  
 "Tuan katakanlah apa<sup>153</sup> martabat Syahru'l-Harath?" Maka  
 sahutnya, "Bahwa Syahru'l-Harath itu tiada dijadikan Allah  
 Taala seseorang jua pun kemudian daripadanya sebagainya."  
 Maka hamba tanya pula kepadanya, "Sebab apa hamba berlihat  
 dengan tuanhamba sekarang ini?" Maka sahutnya, "Sebab  
 dengan berkat doa ibumu."

## Story 21

Kata Imam Ghazali (kaddasa 'llahu sirrahu):

Sekali persetua pada suatu (hari)<sup>154</sup> Nabi Allah Musa pergi  
 munajat ke Bukit Tursina. Maka tiba-tiba bertemu ia pada  
 sama tengah jalan dengan seorang laki-laki berdiri. Maka  
 kata laki-laki itu kepada Nabi Allah Musa, "Ya Nabi Allah  
 Musa, ke mana tuanhamba pergi?" Maka sahut Nabi Allah Musa  
 akan dia, "Aku hendak pergi munajat ke hadirat Allah ke  
 Bukit Tursina." Maka kata laki-laki itu, "Ya nabi Allah,  
 ada suatu hajat hamba kepada tuanhamba; hendaklah tuanhamba  
 sampaikan sembah hamba ke hadirat Allah bahwa hamba pohonkan  
 sezarah daripada kasih-Nya."

Maka nabi Allahpun sampailah ke Bukit Tursina lalu munajat  
 ke hadirat (Allah)<sup>155</sup>. Maka Nabi Allah Musapun lupalah<sup>156</sup>  
 menyampaikan pesan laki-laki itu daripada sangat cita rasa  
 munajat itu. Maka firman Allah Taala, "Hai Musa, lupakah<sup>156</sup>  
 engkau akan pesan laki-laki kepada-Ku itu?" Maka sembah  
 nabi Musa, "Ya Tuhanku, Engkau jua yang amat tahu<sup>157</sup> dengan  
 dia." Maka firman Allah Taala, "Bahkan, tetapi yang pesan  
 itu amanat jua. Maka barang siapa tiada menyampaikan

---

<sup>153</sup> tanya pula tuan katakanlah apa: B and C tanya pula kepadanya apa  
 tuanhamba katakan; E bertanya pula kepadanya apa tuanhamba katakan.

<sup>154</sup> from B, C and E. <sup>155</sup> from B, C and E.

<sup>156</sup> C alpalah and in the second case alpakah. <sup>157</sup> B, C and E mengetahui.

amanat itu, maka khianatlah ia. Dan bahwasanya Aku tiada mengasihi pada segala yang berbuat khianat itu. Hai Musa, bahwasanya telah Kuanugerahai akan dia pada ketika itu jua barang yang dipohonkannya."

Maka Nabi Allah Musapun bermohon ke hadirat Allah Taala lalu ia kembali mencari laki-laki yang berpesan itu. Maka tiada didapatnya pada tempatnya itu. Maka nabi Allah mengangkat-kan kepalanya ke langit serta sembahnya, "Ilahi, ke mana yang empunya pesan itu?" Maka firman Allah Taala, "Hai Musa, telah larilah dia daripadamu." Maka sembah nabi Musa, "Apa sebabnya?" Maka firman Allah Taala, "Barang siapa mengasihi akan Daku tiadalah cenderung hatinya kepada yang lain daripada-Ku, tetapi (ada)<sup>158</sup> ia berjinak-jinakkan<sup>159</sup> dengan Daku. Jikalau berkehendak engkau melihat dia, maka masuklah engkau ke dalam guha<sup>160</sup> bukit ini, adal-ah ia di sana."

Maka Nabi Allah Musapun masuk ke dalam guha itu. Maka dili-hatnya seekor harimau memakan laki-laki itu. Demi dilihat Nabi Allah Musa hal yang demikian itu serta ia berdatang sembah ke hadirat Allah<sup>161</sup>, "Ya Ilahi, apa hal ini?" Maka firman Allah Taala, "Hai Musa, inilah pekerjaan-Ku dengan kekasih-Ku dalam dunia yang fana ini. Dan kautiliklah martabat dalam negeri yang baka itu." Maka Nabi Allah Musapun mengangkatkan kepalanya ke langit, maka dilihatnya suatu kubah daripada yakut yang merah beberapa kebun (se-perti)<sup>162</sup> dunia besarnya. Maka firman Allah, "Hai Musa, inilah anugeraha-Ku dan Akupun kasih akan dia."

- (i) Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah<sup>163</sup>: Menyebut-nyebut dan mencita-cita pada segala ketika dan masa akan Allah Taala supaya dijadikan-Nya akan dia daripada segala arif. Noktah.

<sup>158</sup> from B, C and E.

<sup>159</sup> A *barjineq-jineqkan*.

<sup>160</sup> A *gua*.

<sup>161</sup> B and C add *demikian bunyinya*.

<sup>162</sup> from E.

<sup>163</sup> C adds *yang percaya*.

- (ii) Ditanyai orang seorang arif, "Apa kala jadi tuan bercita-cita<sup>164</sup>?" | Maka sahutnya, "Selama kukasih akan Dia, ialah memasukkan ke dalam hatiku cita<sup>165</sup> dan hilanglah daripada hatiku kasih akan dunia."

## Story 22

Kata Syekh Abdullah Yafii (radi Allah anhu):

Sekali persetua ada seorang saleh pada suatu hari tawaf ia pada Kaabah Allah, maka dilihatnya seorang perempuan mendukung anaknya lagi kecil. Maka perempuan itupun dalam tawaf jua serta ia ber seru-seru dalam tawaf, "*Yā karīm yā karīm ḥaduka 'l-qadīm*." Artinya: Hai yang memberi anugeraha, sedialah janji-Mu. Maka kata laki-laki yang saleh itu akan dia, "Hai perempuan, apa janjimu antara-Nya dan antaramu?"

Maka sahut perempuan, "Hai hamba Allah, ada hamba naik pada sebuah bahtera, dan ada serta hamba beberapa kaum daripada segala saudagar-saudagar. Tatkala sampailah bahtera itu ke tengah laut, maka diturun topanlah akan kami, maka bahtera itupun karamlah dan segala isinya tiadalah tinggal seorang melainkan hamba dengan anak hamba ini jua. Tatkala itu anak hamba ini dalam ribaan hamba di atas papan.

Maka hamba lihat pagi-pagi hari datang seorang Habsyi duduk pada suatu papan bahtera itu jua dikayuhnya dengan tangannya dan dihampirinya akan hamba. Maka dikembarkannya papan itu dengan papan hamba, lalu naiklah ia ke atas papan hamba serta ditawarnya akan hamba. Maka sahut hamba, 'Hai hamba Allah, tiadakah engkau takut akan Allah Taala? Kita ini dalam bala tiada harap kita akan luput daripada bahaya ini dengan membawa kebaktian akan Allah istimewa kita berbuat durhaka

<sup>164</sup>C *bercinta-cinta*; E *bercinta*.

<sup>165</sup>E *cinta*.



kepada-Nya.' Maka kata Habsyi itu akan hamba, 'Hai perempuan, janganlah banyak katamu. Demi Allah, tak dapat tiada kukerjakan jua kerja ini.'

Pada ketika itu anak hamba lagi tidur, maka hamba cubitlah akan dia supaya jaga. Maka anak hambapun jaga serta menanggishlah, maka kata hamba akan dia, 'Hai hamba Allah, berikan apalah kiranya aku tidurkan anakku ini. Maka kita kerjakanlah barang yang diuntungkan Allah Taala akan kita.' Maka iapun marahlah, lalu diambil anak hamba dibuangkan ke dalam laut. Maka hambapun menilik ke langit serta kata hamba, 'Ya llahi wa sayidi wa maulaya, hai yang menindingi antara manusia dan hatinya, ya Tuhanku, Kaudindingi kiranya antarku dan antara Habsyi ini dengan upaya-Mu dan kuat-Mu, bahwasanya Engkau jua atas segala sesuatu amat kuasa.'

Belum lagi selesai hamba daripada minta doa, tiba-tiba timbul seekor ikan yang amat besar mengangakan mulutnya serta ditelannya akan Habsyi itu, lalu tenggelamlah ia. Dan adalah dipelihara Allah Taala akan hamba dengan rahmat-Nya dan kodrat-Nya dan ialah yang amat kuasa atas barang yang dikehendaki-Nya mahasuci bagi-Nya. Maka ombakpun sebagailah mendamparkan hamba, lalu dibuangnyahamba kepada suatu pulau. Maka hambapun naiklah kepada pulau itu serta berbicara hamba dalam hati hamba, 'Baiklah aku makan daripada sayur dan minum air dalam pulau ini hingga datang ajalku.' Maka hambapun diamlah dalam pulau itu, | tiada jua yang meluputkan daripada bahaya ini melainkan Allah Taala jua. Maka hamba diamlah dalam pulau itu empat hari lamanya.

304

Maka pada pagi-pagi hari yang kelima, ada sebuah bahtera kelihatan berhenti<sup>166</sup>. Maka hamba naik kepada tempat yang tinggi, maka hamba lambai dengan kain bahtera itu. Maka datanglah (daripada bahtera itu)<sup>167</sup> sebuah sampannya<sup>168</sup> orangnya bertiga laki-laki. Maka dinaikkanlah hamba dalam sampan<sup>168</sup> itu. Maka tatkala sampailah hamba kepada bahtera

<sup>166</sup> B and C *terhenti*.

<sup>167</sup> from B, C and E.

<sup>168</sup> B, C and E *perahu*.

itu, maka hamba dinaikkan oranglah ke atas bahtera itu. Tiba-tiba hamba lihat anak hamba yang dibuangkan oleh Habsyi (ke dalam laut)<sup>169</sup> itu ada di sisi seorang laki-laki daripada isi bahtera itu. Maka hambapun segera mengambil anak hamba itu, lalu hamba cium<sup>170</sup> akan dia serta kata hamba, 'Demi Allah, inilah anak hamba dan segumpal daripada hati hamba.' Maka kata segala isi bahtera itu akan hamba, 'Gila-kah engkau? Anak khayalkah engkau?' Maka sahut hamba, 'Demi Allah, tiada hamba gila dan tiada hamba khayal, tetapi ada bagi hamba suatu kisah demikian-demikian.' Maka hamba ceriterakanlah kisah hamba itu.

Maka tatkala didengar oleh mereka itu kisah hamba, lalu ditundukkan mereka itu kepalanya serta kata mereka itu, 'Hai perempuan muda, (kau-)<sup>171</sup> ceriterai akan kami dengan suatu ceritera jadi hairanlah kami daripada menengar ceriteramu itu. Dan sekarang ini kami ceriterakan pula akan dikau suatu ceritera hingga jadi hairanlah engkau: Yaitu ada bahtera kami ini berlayar dengan angin yang lemah lembut. Tiba-tiba dengan takdir Allah Taala kami lihat seekor ikan yang besar datang ia mengadang bahtera kami ini. Dan ada kanak-kanak itu di belakangnya. Maka kami dengar suatu suara dari gaib demikian bunyinya: Hai segala isi bahtera, jikalau tiada kamu mengambil kanak-kanak ini dari belakang ikan ini, niscaya kamu binasalah. Maka turunlah seorang daripada antara kami, lalu naiklah ia ke atas belakang ikan itu. Maka diambilnya kanak-kanak ini, lalu dibawanya ke atas bahtera. Maka ikan itupun menyelamlah. Maka kamipun hairanlah daripada melihat hal yang demikian itu dan daripada hal yang kauceriterakan kepada kami ini. Maka berjanjilah kami dengan Allah Taala bahwa jangan kami<sup>172</sup> berbuat jahat durhaka kepada-Nya.' Kemudian dari itu maka segala /<sup>173</sup> isi bahtera itupun tobatlah kepada Allah Taala."

(i) Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah: Hendaklah ia

<sup>169</sup> from B, C and E.    <sup>170</sup> A *ciyum*.    <sup>171</sup> from B and C.

<sup>172</sup> A *kamu*.    <sup>173</sup> / *segala*.

takut akan Tuhannya pada hal kesukaannya dan kesukarannya<sup>174</sup>, dan hendaklah ia syukur akan nikmat Tuhannya. Perbuatlah tawakal dan sabar tatkala kedatangan bala serta harap akan Tuhannya supaya diluputkan Allah Taala daripada segala bahaya dunia dan akhirat daripadanya.

- (ii) Seperti firman Allah Taala yang tersebut dalam Quran,  
*"Wa-man yattaqi 'llāha yaj'al lahu min amrihi yusran."*  
 Artinya: Barang siapa takut akan Allah (dijadikan Allah)<sup>175</sup>  
 Taala /<sup>176</sup> baginya daripada segala pekerjaannya mudah.

- (iii) Dan seperti sabda Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam), *"Law kāna 'l-<sup>c</sup>usru fī juhrin ladakhala <sup>c</sup>alayhi 'l-yusru hattā yukhrijahu."*

305 Artinya: Jikalau ada kesukaran itu dalam suatu liang<sup>177</sup>,  
 niscaya masuklah dalamnya kemudahan hingga dikeluarkannya  
 kesukarannya itu.

#### Story 23

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Ada seorang laki-laki muda terlalu elok parasnya pada jaman dahulu kala daripada kaum bani Israil, adalah pekerjaannya menjual bakul. Sekali persetua pada suatu hari ia menjual bakul dibawanya segenap juring negeri. Kelakian maka keluar seorang perempuan dari dalam istana raja, maka terlihat akan orang menjual bakul itu. Maka segera ia kembali, lalu dipersembahkannya kepada anak raja perempuan serta katanya, "Ya tuhanku, ada hamba lihat laki-laki muda terelok parasnya, tiada pernah hamba melihat orang yang elok parasnya seperti laki-laki yang berjual bakul itu seorang jua pun."

---

<sup>174</sup>kesukaannya dan kesukarannya: C kesukaran dan kemudahan; E kesukaannya dan kedukaannya.

<sup>175</sup>from B and C. <sup>176</sup>/ niscaya. <sup>177</sup>C lubang.

Demi didengar puteri sembahnya perempuan itu, maka disuruhnya panggil orang berjual bakul itu<sup>178</sup>. Maka perempuan itupun pergilah manggil laki-laki itu<sup>179</sup>. Maka apabila datang ia ke dalam istana puteri itu, lalu disuruhkan (puteri)<sup>180</sup> tutup pintu itu. Maka lalu dibawanya masuk pada pintu yang kedua hingga masuk kepada pintu yang ketiga. Maka sekalian pintu itu disuruhnya tutupkan jua. Setelah itu maka datanglah puteri kepada laki-laki itu serta membukakan kepalanya dan dadanya.

Demi dilihat orang muda akan puteri itu lalu katanya, "Tuan belilah bakul ini, mana-mana yang berkenan kepada tuan." Maka sahut puteri itu, "Tiada hamba manggil akan tuanhamba karena membeli bakul hanya karena kita bersuka-sukaan." Maka sahut orang muda itu, "Takuti olehmu akan Allah Taala." Maka kata puteri, "Jikalau tiada mau engkau seperti kehenakku ini, niscaya kupersembahkan kepada raja ayahku engkau masuk ke dalam istanaku ini hendaklah berbuat khianat." Maka diberi nasihat oleh orang muda akan puteri itu dengan beberapa kali itupun, tiada jua dikabulkan oleh puteri nasihatnya itu. Maka kata orang muda itu, "Tuan beri apakah akan hamba air pakai mengambil air sembahyang." Maka kata puteri, "Engkau hendak mencari helat dan mungkir engkau." Lalu kata puteri pada sahayanya, "Beri olehmu air akan orang muda itu, bawa di atas istana pada tempat yang tiada dapat ia lari."

Kata yang empunya ceritera: Adalah istana itu tingginya empat puluh hasta. Maka orang muda itupun naiklah ke atas istana itu serta katanya, "Ilahi wa sayidi wa maulaya,

---

<sup>178</sup> maka disuruhnya panggil orang berjual bakul itu: B, C and E serta katanya pergilah kaubawa laki-laki yang muda itu kepadaku.

<sup>179</sup> manggil laki-laki itu: B and C kepada laki-laki yang muda itu serta katanya hai orang muda mari masuk orang hendak membeli bakul; E kepada laki-laki yang muda itu serta katanya hai orang muda mari masuk hendak dibeli bakulmu itu.

<sup>180</sup> from B, C and E.

bahwasanya dipanggil perempuan ini akan daku kepada berbuat maksiat kepada-Mu. Bahwasanya aku hendak menjatuhkan diriku dari atas istana ini, tiada aku mau berbuat durhaka kepada-Mu." Serta katanya, "Bismillah," lalu ia menggugurkan dirinya dari atas istana itu.

306

Arakian maka diturunkan Allah subhanahu wa taala seorang malaikat menyambut dia, lalu didirikannya. Maka tatkala ia berdirilah serta katanya, "Ilahi, jika Kauhendaki menganugerahai rezeki akan hamba-Mu dengan tiada berlelah berjual bakul ini Kaukaruniailah." Maka digugurkan Allah kepadanya beberapa belalang daripada emas. Maka diambilnya oleh orang muda itu hingga penuh kainnya serta katanya, "Ilahi, jika Kauhendaki menganugerahai rezeki ini dalam dunia, maka Kaukaruniai berkat akan hamba-Mu dalam rezeki ini. Jika Kaukurangkan pahala hamba-Mu yang pada hadirat-Mu daripada ganti rezeki itu, maka tiadalah hajat bagiku dalam rezeki ini."

Tiba-tiba didengarnya suatu suara dari gaib demikian bunyinya, "Hai laki-laki, yang Kami anugerahai akan dikau itu suatu jua daripada tengah tiga puluh suku<sup>181</sup> daripada pahala sabamu tatkala hendak membelakan<sup>182</sup> dirimu dari atas istana itu." Maka sahut orang muda itu, "Ilahi, tiada hajat bagiku pada barang yang demikian itu yang jadi mengurangi pahala daripada hadirat-Mu dalam akhirat itu." Maka terbanglah segala belalang emas itu yang ada dalam kainnya.

Arakian maka kata malaikat akan Syaitan, "Hai Syaitan, mengapakah tiada engkau menyesatkan orang muda itu?" Maka sahutnya, "Betapa hamba menyesatkan orang yang membinasakan dirinya dengan karena Allah Taala."

- (i) Nasihat scyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah: Mengambil ibarat pada menengarkan hikayat ini dan menahan dirinya daripada berbuat durhaka akan Tuhannya.

---

<sup>181</sup>A suku.      <sup>182</sup>A membalaskan (?).

- (ii) Seperti firman Allah Taala dalam Quran, "Wa-'*shir wa-mā sabruka illā bi-'llāhi.*"

Artinya: Sabarlah engkau dan tiada sabarmu itu melainkan dengan petolong Allah.

- (iii) Dan seperti firman Allah yang tersebut dalam hadis kudsi, "*Anzaltu bi-'<sup>c</sup>abdī balā'i fa-da<sup>c</sup>anī fa-ataltuhu bi-'l-ijābati fa-shakānī fa-qultu yā <sup>c</sup>abdī kayfa arhamuka min shay'in bihi arhamuka.*"

Artinya: Kuturunkan kepada hamba-Ku suatu bala, maka ia minta doa kepada-Ku, maka Kulambatkan berkenankan doanya, maka ia /<sup>183</sup> (mengadu)<sup>184</sup> kepada-Ku. Maka kata-Ku, "Hai hamba-Ku, betapa Kukasihani akan dikau dengan bala itulah Kukasihani akan dikau."

#### Story 24

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi as-salam) berjalan-jalan, maka bertemu dengan seorang laki-laki. Maka berkata laki-laki itu, "Ya nabi Allah, bahwa hamba hendak mengikut tuanhamba." Maka sahut nabi Allah, "Baiklah." Kata yang empunya ceritera: Tatkala itu Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam) ada membawa tiga buah roti. Maka lalu berjalanlah keduanya, hingga sampai kepada suatu sungai. Maka kata nabi Allah, "Hai laki-laki, marilah kita makan roti ini." Maka lalu makan keduanya itu seorang satu roti, tinggal sebiji lagi. Setelah sudah ia makan roti itu, maka nabi Allahpun pergi ke sungai minum air.

Hatta maka nabi Allahpun kembalilah kepada laki-laki itu, maka dilihat nabi Allah roti yang tinggal itu tiada. Maka kata Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai laki-laki, siapa mengambil roti

---

<sup>183</sup> / mengadu.      <sup>184</sup> from B, C and E.

di sini?" Maka sahut laki-laki itu, "Tiada hamba ketahui ke mana perginya." Maka berjalanlah keduanya dari sana hingga sampai kepada sama tengah jalan. Maka dilihat oleh nabi Allah seekor kijang mengikut akan dia dua ekor anaknya. Maka diseru<sup>185</sup> nabi Allah akan seekor anak kijang, maka anak kijang itupun datanglah lalu disembelih Nabi Allah Isa serta didoakan keduanyalah.

307

Setelah sudah ia makan daging kijang itu, maka sabda nabi Allah kepada daging kijang yang tinggal | itu, "*qum bi-idhni 'llāhi ʿazza wa-jalla*." Artinya: Berdirilah engkau dengan izin Allah azza wajalla. Maka anak kijang itupun bangkitlah lalu kembali kepada indungnya. Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa akan laki-laki itu, "Hai laki-laki, aku menanyai dikau dengan kebesaran Allah yang menunjukkan dikau ajaib /<sup>186</sup> (ini)<sup>187</sup>, siapa yang makan roti itu?" Maka sembah laki-laki itu, "Ya nabi Allah, hamba tiada tahu."

Maka berjalanlah keduanya hingga hampirlah kepada negeri serta lapar keduanya. Maka dilihat nabi Allah seekor lembu yang tambun, lalu disembelihnya, maka dipanggang keduanya-  
lah, (lalu)<sup>188</sup> makan daging lembu itu. Maka apabila sudahlah makan lembu itu keduanya, maka datanglah yang empunya lembu itu mencari lembunya. Maka dilihatnya lembunya telah disembelih orang dua. Maka berseru-seru yang empunya lembu itu, "Hai segala manusia, lihatlah hal orang penyamun ini makan lembu hamba." Maka segala manusiapun berhimpunlah hendak menenggok keduanya.

Demi dilihat Nabi Allah Isa hal mereka itu hendak menenggok, maka kata nabi Allah, "Hai lembu, *qum bi-idhni 'llāhi ʿazza wa-jalla*." Maka lembu itupun berdirilah. Maka kata nabi Allah akan yang empunya lembu itu, "Karena kami pikir jamu datang, mengapa kamu tuduh akan daku makan lembu kamu? Inilah lembu kamu." Maka kata segala manusia, "Inilah

<sup>185</sup>C sabda; E panggil.      <sup>186</sup>/ aku.      <sup>187</sup>from B, C and E.

<sup>188</sup>from G.

orang yang amat sihir<sup>189</sup>."

Maka lalu berjalanlah mereka itu serta membawa lembunya. Maka sabda nabi Allah, "Hai laki-laki, (aku menanyai dikau dengan kebesaran Allah yang menunjukkan dikau ajaib ini, katakanlah olehmu)<sup>190</sup> siapa makan roti itu?" Maka sahut laki-laki itu, "Ya nabi Allah, tiada hamba mengetahui akan orang yang makan roti itu." Maka lalu berjalanlah keduanya hingga sampai kepada suatu padang kersik. Maka berhentilah keduanya pada tempat itu, lalu ditimbunkannya kersik itu tiga timbunan. Maka bersabda Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam), "Hai kersik, jadilah engkau emas." (Maka)<sup>191</sup> dengan izin Allah subhanahu wataala, maka tiga timbunan kersik itupun jadilah emas. Maka bersabda pula Nabi Allah Isa, "Yang satu timbunan ini bahagian aku, dan yang satu timbunan ini bahagian kamu, dan yang satu timbunan ini bahagian orang yang makan roti itu." Maka sembah laki-laki itu, "Ya nabi Allah, hambalah yang makan roti itu." Demi nabi Allah menengar sembahnya laki-laki itu demikian, maka bersabda Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam), "Hai laki-laki, ambil olehmu semuanya<sup>192</sup>." Maka nabi Allahpun bercerailah daripada laki-laki itu, berjalan ia seorang dirinya. Maka laki-laki itupun tinggallah pada tempat itu.

Kelakian maka datang dua orang laki-laki kepada orang yang empunya emas itu. Maka lalu hendak dibunuh keduanya akan dia. Maka kata yang empunya emas itu, "Baiklah tuanhamba, ambil emas itu kita bahagi tiga jangan hamba dibunuh." Maka keduanya itu kabullah. Maka kata yang empunya emas itu, "Pergilah tuan salah seorang ke negeri, beli oleh tuanhamba makanan karena berapa lamanya<sup>193</sup> hamba ini lapar." Maka lalu pergilah seorang ke negeri. Maka sampailah ia ke negeri lalu ia berbicara dalam hatinya, "Apa sebab aku

---

<sup>189</sup>A *sākhir*. <sup>190</sup>from B, C and E.

<sup>191</sup>from B, C and E.

<sup>192</sup>B and E *tiga timbunan akan dikau*; C *ketiga timbun akan dikau*.

<sup>193</sup>B and E *harilah*; C *hari*.



mau memberikan emas itu akan orang berdua itu? Baiklah kubunuh keduanya itu, kuberi racun dalam makanan."

308 Maka pada ketika itu jua berubah niatnya | orang dua itu, lalu berkata keduanya sama sendirinya, "Apa sebab kita membahagikan emas ini akan dia? Apabila datang dia sekarang kita bunuhlah akan dia." Maka laki-laki itupun datanglah membawa makanan yang dicampurinya dengan racun itu, lalu diunjukkannyalah makanan itu akan keduanya. Maka lalu dibunuh orang berdualah akan yang membawa makanan itu. Maka makanan itu dimakanlah oleh orang berdua itu yang bercampur racun itu. Maka ketiganyapun matilah pada keliling emas itu.

Syahdan maka nabi Allahpun kembalilah pada tempat emas itu dengan segala sahabatnya. Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isapun, "Inilah hal dunia, ingat-ingat kamu sekalian akan dunia ini."

- (i) Nasihat seyogyanya (bagi)<sup>194</sup> segala yang budiman: Bahwa jangan ia cenderung dan lalai kepada mengasihi dunia yang fana ini.
- (ii) Seperti firman Allah Taala dalam Quran, "*Innamā amwālukum wa-awladukum fitnatun.*"  
Artinya: Hanya sanya segala arta kamu dan segala anak kamu itu memberi fitnah jua bagimu.
- (iii) Dan seperti sabda Nabi (sallallahu alaihi wa salam), "*Law kāna li-ibni ādama wādyāni min mālin lā 'batghā wādyan thālithan wa-lā yamla'u jawfa 'bni ādama illā 'l-turābu wa-yatūbu 'llāhu 'alā man tāba.*"  
Artinya: Jikalau ada arta bagi anak Adam penuh dua pihak<sup>195</sup>, niscaya dikehendaknya akan ketiganya dan tiada penuh hawa nafsu anak Adam melainkan dengan tanah jua. Dan diterima Allah /<sup>196</sup> (Taala bagi)<sup>197</sup> barang siapa yang membawa tobat.

<sup>194</sup> from C and E; B maka. <sup>195</sup> C adds *daripada emas*.

<sup>196</sup> / atas orang yang. <sup>197</sup> from C; B Taala maka; E Taala atas.

Kata Syekh Muhammad anak Abu Bakar (rahmatullah alaihi):

Sekali persetua /<sup>198</sup> datang seorang perempuan kepada Rasul Allah (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) serta ia berdatang sembah demikian bunyinya, "Ya Rasul Allah, bahwasanya telah hamba perbuat suatu dosa yang amat besar barang dihukumkan kiranya akan hamba." Maka sabda Nabi Allah, "Tobatlah engkau kepada Allah Taala."

Maka sembahnya, "Ya Nabi Allah, bahwasanya bumi telah diketahuinyalah dosa hamba yang hamba perbuat dosa itu di atasnya, dan iapun naik saksilah atas hamba pada hari kiamat." Maka sabda Nabi Allah, "Bahwasanya bumi itu tiada ia naik atasmu saksi, seperti firman Allah yang tersebut dalam Quran: *Yaumu tubaddalu 'l-ardu qhayru 'l-ardi.*" Artinya: Pada hari kiamat dipertukarkan bumi itu dengan bumi yang lain.

Maka sembah perempuan itu, "Ya Nabi Allah, bahwa langit telah diketahuinyalah dosa hamba itu dari atas hamba, dan iapun naik saksilah atas dosa hamba pada hari kiamat." Maka sabda Nabi Allah, "(Bahwasanya)<sup>199</sup> lagi akan digulungkan Allah Taala langit itu, seperti firman Allah Taala dalam Quran: *Yauma natwī 'l-samā'a ka-tayyi 'l-sijilli li-'l-kutubi.*" Artinya: Pada hari kiamat Kami gulungkan langit itu seperti gulung surat sijil.

Maka sembah perempuan itu, "Ya Nabi Allah, bahwasanya kiraman katibin<sup>200</sup> telah disuratkan keduanyalah dosa hamba itu dalam suratannya." Maka sabda Nabi Allah, "Bahwasanya Allah Taala berfirman yang tersebut dalam Quran: | *Inna 'l-hasanāti yudhibna 'l-sayyi'ati.*" Artinya: Bahwasanya

<sup>198</sup> / pada suatu; omitted to agree with B, C and E.

<sup>199</sup> from B, C and E. <sup>200</sup> A kiraman katibin.

segala kejahatan itu menghilangkan segala kejahatan.

Maka bersabda pula Nabi Allah kepadanya, "*Al-tā'ilu mina 'l-dhanbi ka-man lā dhanba lahu.*" Artinya: Orang yang tobat daripada dosanya itu seperti orang yang tiada berdosa baginya<sup>201</sup>. Maka sembah perempuan itu, "Ya Nabi Allah, bahwasanya malaikat telah hadir mereka itu atas perbuatan hamba dan lagi naik saksi mereka itu atas perbuatan hamba segala yang jahat pada hari kiamat." Maka sabda Nabi Allah, "Lagi akan dilupakan Allah Taala malaikatulhafzat itu pada hari kiamat."

Dan lagi sabda Nabi Allah, "*Idhā tāba 'l-<sup>c</sup>abdu ilā 'llāhi ta<sup>c</sup>ālā tāba 'llāhu <sup>c</sup>alayhi wa-ansā 'l-hafazata mā <sup>c</sup>amila wa-qāla li-'l-ardi wa-li-juwārihihi 'ktumī <sup>c</sup>alayhi masāwi'ahu.*"

Artinya: Apabila tobat seorang hamba kepada Allah Taala, maka diterima Allah Taala atas tobatnya itu. Dan dilupakan Allah Taala akan malaikat hafzat<sup>202</sup> dengan segala barang yang diperbuat mereka itu. Dan firman Allah Taala akan bumi dan akan segala anggotanya, "Sembunyikan olehmu dari-pada segala kejahatannya."

Maka sembah perempuan itu, "Ya Rasul Allah, telah kabullah hamba seperi sabda tuanhamba itu, bahwasanya segala sabda tuanhamba itu sekaliannya pada hak segala orang yang tobat, tetapi hairam muka pada hari kiamat dan malu akan Allah Taala itu. Tetapi kuasa hamba pada demikian itu dari karena bahwasanya tuanhamba bersabda: *Idhā kāna yawmu 'l-qīyāmati yudhkkuru 'l-mudhnibu dhanbahu wa-yastahī mina 'llāhi ta<sup>c</sup>ālā fa-ya<sup>c</sup>raqu 'stihyā'an mina 'llāhi ta<sup>c</sup>ālā wa-yablughu mā'u <sup>c</sup>araqi ba<sup>c</sup>dihim ilā rukbatayhi wa-ba<sup>c</sup>dihim ilā surratihī wa-ba<sup>c</sup>dihim ilā ḥalqihī.*"

Artinya: Apabila datang pada hari kiamat ingatlah segala

---

<sup>201</sup>The story ends here in E.

<sup>202</sup>malaikat hafzat: B malaikatulhafzat; C uses malaikat hafzat in both places.

yang berdosa itu akan segala dosanya, maka malulah ia akan Allah Taala hingga jadi berpeluhlah ia daripada sangat malunya akan Allah Taala. Maka setengah mereka itu sampai air peluhnya itu hingga lututnya dan setengah hingga pusatnya dan setengah hingga rongkongannya.

Dan lagi pula sabda Nabi, "Yā ayyuhā 'l-mū'minūna *dhkurū dhālika* 'l-yauma wa-lā taghffalū *anhu* wa-tūbū ilā allāhi ta'ālā wa-tadrra'ū ilayhi fa-inna 'llāhu huwa 'l-tawwābu 'l-rahīmu."

Artinya: Hai segala mukmin, sadar-sedar olehmu hari kiamat dan jangan kaulalai akan dia dan tobatlah kamu kepada Allah Taala, serta dengan merendahkan diri kamu kepada-Nya, bahwasanya Allah Taala itu Tuhan yang amat berkenan akan tobat hamba-Nya lagi amat mengasihani.

## Story 26

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Bahwa Syekh Fudail ibn Iyyas (radi Allah anhu) itu ada ia di /<sup>203</sup> (hulu pada)<sup>204</sup> orang penyamun. Sekali persetua pada suatu malam ia keluar hendak menyamun dengan segala tolannya, dan ada sertanya seorang sahayanya. (Maka lalu ia berjalan-jalan maka galib matanya hendak tidur. Maka disuruh sahayanya)<sup>205</sup> itu meriba kepalanya, maka iapun tidur.

Setelah itu maka datang suatu kafilah. Maka tatkala sampailah kafilah itu kepada tempat segala penyamun itu, maka berhentilah sekalian mereka itu di sana. Maka berkata  
310 mereka itu sama sendirinya, "Bahwa adalah Fudail di sini serta segala tolannya, betapa bicara kita?" Maka kata tiga

<sup>203</sup> / *haudar oleh*. <sup>204</sup> from C; B and E *haudar oleh*.

<sup>205</sup> from B; C and E have similar insertions.

orang daripada mereka itu, "Jikalau tuan-tuan izin akan kami, niscaya pergi kami memanah dia seorang sekali. Jika ia kena, maka itulah yang kita kehendaki. Dan jika tiada ia kena, kembalilah kami."

Maka mereka itupun pergilah, lalu dipanah salah seorang daripada mereka itu serta dibacanya ayat ini, *'A-lan ya'ni li-'l-ladhīna āmanū an takhshā<sup>c</sup> a qulūbuhum li-dhikri 'llāhi wa-mā nazala minā 'l-haqqi.*"

Artinya: Tiadakah datang masa ketakutan bagi segala yang percaya akan Allah Taala dan akan pesuruh-Nya karena menyebut nama Allah dan barang yang diturunkan Allah daripada yang sebenar-benarnya<sup>206</sup>?

Demi didengar Fudail ayat ini, maka iapun mengherik dengan herik yang amat sangat serta katanya, "Ah, ah." Maka iapun lalu pingsan. Maka pada sangka sahayanya bahwa tuannya kena panahlah, maka lalu dicari luka tubuhnya tuannya tiada (dapatnya)<sup>207</sup>. Maka tatkala nyedar ia daripada pingsannya, maka katanya, "Hai sahayaku, telah kenalah aku panah Allah Taala."

Maka memanah pula yang kedua daripada mereka itu, serta dibacanya ayat ini, *'Fa-firru ilā allāhi innī lakum minhu nadhīrun mubīnun.*"

Artinya: Larilah kamu<sup>208</sup> /<sup>209</sup> kepada Allah, bahwasanya aku bagi kamu menakuti yang amat nyata.

Demi didengar Fudail ayat ini, maka iapun mengherik pula tersangat daripada yang dahulu itu. Maka dicahari pula oleh sahayanya luka pada tubuhnya tiada dapat. Maka kata Fudail akan sahayanya, "Hai sahayaku, telah kenalah aku panah Allah Taala."

---

<sup>206</sup> B and E *seterunya*; C *sebenarnya*. <sup>207</sup> from B and C; E *didapatnya*.

<sup>208</sup> B adds *daripada yang salah ini*; C is confused.

<sup>209</sup> / *daripada Allah*; E follows A.

Maka memanah pula yang ketiga daripada mereka itu serta dibacanya ayat ini, "*Wa-'anībū ilā rabbikum wa-aslimū lahu min qabli an ya'tiyakumu 'l-<sup>c</sup>adhābu thumma lā tunsarūna.*" Artinya: Kembalilah kamu kepada Tuhan kamu dengan berbuat ibadat dan jauhi oleh kamu daripada berbuat maksiat akan Allah Taala dan berbuat amallah kamu akan Dia dengan tulus ikhlas hati kamu dahulu daripada datang kepada kamu azab, maka tiadalah ditolongi akan kamu pada menolakkan azab itu.

Demi didengar Fudail ayat ini, maka iapun mengherik dengan herik yang amat sangat daripada yang dahulu itu. Maka kata Fudail akan sahayanya dan akan segala tolannya, "Kembalilah kamu sekalian, bahwasanya aku nyesallah<sup>210</sup> daripada barang perbuatan yang telah lalu daripada durhaka akan Allah Taala. Maka ditinggalkannyalah segala perbuatannya<sup>211</sup> yang telah lalu kuperbuat itu." Maka iapun pergilah ke Makah hingga sampailah ia hampir kepada suatu negeri (bernama)<sup>212</sup> Nahrawan.

Maka bertemu ia di sana dengan Raja Harun ar-Rasyid. Maka sabda Harun ar-Rasyid akan dia, "Hai Fudail, bahwasanya hamba mimp akan tuanhamba seolah-olah berseru dengan suara yang nyaring demikian bunyinya serunya: Bahwasanya Fudail telah takut ia akan Allah Taala dan dipilinya berbuat kebaktian akan Allah Taala, maka Kami kasihanilah akan dia." (Demi didengar Fudail demikian itu,)<sup>213</sup> maka mengheriklah Fudail dengan herik yang amat sangat serta katanya, "Ya Tuhanku, demi kemuliaan-Mu dan kebesaran-Mu lagi kasih jua Engkau akan hamba-Mu yang berdosa dan adalah aku lari daripada-Mu sekira-kira empat puluh tahun lamanya."

- (i) Maka (nasihat)<sup>214</sup> seyogyanya bagi segala mukmin yang gafil: Jangan ia lalai dengan hawa nafsu dunia dalam umur seketika | ini, bahwasanya Tuhanmu itu sentiasa memandang dengan
- 311

<sup>210</sup><sub>C</sub> tobatlah.    <sup>211</sup><sub>B</sub> perbuatanku.

<sup>212</sup> from B, C and E.    <sup>213</sup> from C.

<sup>214</sup> from C and E.

syafakat kepadamu. Hai kirabin<sup>215</sup>, maka betapa engkau sentiasa memalingkan mukamu daripada hadirat-Nya? Maka hendaklah kau cari obat penyakit hatimu, mudah-mudahan dianugerahai Allah akan dikau.

(ii) Seperti firman Allah Taala yang tersebut dalam Quran,

"A-fa-man sharaha 'llāhu sadrahu li-'l-islāmi fa-huwa 'alā nūrīn min rabbihī."

Artinya: Adakah sama barang siapa dibukakan Allah hatinya bagi agama Islam, yaitu menerima jalan yang sebenarnya? Maka adalah ia beroleh cahaya daripada Tuhannya.

(iii) Maka tatkala didengar segala sahabat ayat ini, maka sembah

segala sahabat, "Ya Rasul Allah, betapa terbuka hatinya bagi segala Islam?" Maka sabda Nabi Allah, "Idhā dakhala 'l-nūru 'l-qalba 'nsharaha wa-'nfasaha."

Artinya: Apabila masuk cahaya dalam hati, maka terbukalah.

Maka sembah segala sahabat, "Ya Rasul Allah, apa alamat yang demikian itu?" Maka sabda Nabi Allah, "Al-'inābatu ilā dāri 'l-khulūdi wa-'l-tajāfā 'an dāri 'l-ghurūri wa-'l-ta'ahhubu li-'l-mawti qabla nuzūli 'l-mawti."

Artinya: Yaitu kembali kepada negeri yang kekal dengan berbuat ibadat serta tulus ikhlas dan menjauhi daripada pikir yang lalai dan disediakan dirinya akan mati<sup>216</sup>.

Story 27

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Ada seorang Kadi di negeri Makah wazir benua Khurasani

<sup>215</sup>A k-r-a-b-n; B and E k-r-a-y-n; C kiranya; a possible derivation from the Arabic root *karaba* and meaning 'those afflicted by sorrow'.

<sup>216</sup>disediakan dirinya akan mati: B, C and E bersangka (?) akan maut dahulu daripada datangnya.

bernama Nuh ibn Mariam terlalu makmur artinya<sup>217</sup>. Ada baginya seorang anaknya perempuan terlalu (amat)<sup>218</sup> elok parasnya dan bijaksana pada segala barang perkataannya. Maka adalah segala orang besar-besar dan segala orang budi-man dan segala orang kaya-kaya dalam negeri itu meminang akan dia<sup>219</sup>, tiada seorang jua pun dikabulkannya. Maka hairanlah Kadi membicarakan akan siapa jua yang /<sup>220</sup> (diberinya menelangkai anaknya itu)<sup>221</sup>. Maka pikir ia di dalam hatinya, "Jikalau kukahwinkan anakku dengan si fulan, niscaya (jadi)<sup>222</sup> sakit<sup>223</sup> hatinya si fulan yang lain akan daku."

Syahdan ada bagi Kadi itu seorang sahayanya laki-laki daripada jenis<sup>224</sup> Hindustan bernama Mubarak; adalah ia beragama lagi takut akan Allah Taala. Dan ada bagi Kadi itu suatu kebun anggur dan segala buan-buahan. Sekali persetua berkata Kadi akan sahayanya itu, "Hai Mubarak, pergilah engkau kepada kebun anggur, peliharakan olehmu segala buah-buahan yang dalamnya." Hatta maka Mubarakpun pergilah kepada kebun itu, lalu dipeliharakannyalah segala isi kebun sekira-kira dua bulan lamanya ia dalam kebun itu.

Maka pada suatu hari Kadipun datang pada kebun itu, (maka katanya)<sup>225</sup>, "Hai Mubarak, bawa olehmu akan daku serantai daripada buah anggur." Maka dibawanya oleh Mubarak lalu dimakan Kadi, maka dirasai anggur itu masam. Maka kata Kadi akan dia, "Hai Mubarak, bawa olehmu akan daku serantai yang lain." Maka dibawanya pula serantai lagi pun masam jua. Maka kata akan dia Kadi, "Hai Mubarak, apa sebabnya kaubawa akan daku anggur yang masam jua?" Maka sahutnya,

---

<sup>217</sup>A *terlalu artinya makmur*; the present reading is based on B and C, not E. <sup>218</sup>from B, C and E.

<sup>219</sup>*meminang akan dia*: B *menelangkai dia*; C *meminangkan dia*;

E *menelangkaikan dia*.

<sup>220</sup>/ *diperkenankan oleh anakku ini*. <sup>221</sup>from B, C and E.

<sup>222</sup>from B, C and E. <sup>223</sup>E *takutlah*.

<sup>224</sup>E adds *bangsa*. <sup>225</sup>from B, C and E.



312

"Ya tuhanku, bahwasanya hamba tiada mengenal | anggur yang manis dan yang masam."

Maka kata Kadi, "Subhanallah, terlalu ajaib aku menengar katamu ini telah dua bulan lamanya engkau memelihara (pohon)<sup>226</sup> anggur ini tiada juga kauketahui yang manis dan yang masam." Maka sahutnya, "Ya tuhanku, demi Allah, tiada penah hamba makan dia, karena itulah tiada hamba kenal<sup>227</sup> yang manis dan yang masam." Maka kata Kadi, "Apa sebab maka tiada kaumakan?" Maka sahutnya, "Ya tuhanku, dari karena bahwasanya tuan suruh akan hamba memelihara dia<sup>228</sup>, tiada hamba mau khianat akan amanat tuanhamba." Maka Kadi-pun hairanlah menengar katanya itu, serta ia berkata, "Hai Mubarak, sanya telah jatuhlah dalam hatiku kasih akan dikau maka seyogyanyalah kauperbuat barang yang kusuruhkan kepadamu ini." Maka sahutnya, "Ya tuanku, hamba junjunglah<sup>229</sup> segala titah Allah Taala dan hamba ikutlah segala barang kata tuanhamba."

Maka kata Kadi, "Hai sahayaku, ketahui olehmu bahwasanya ada bagiku seorang anak perempuan terlalu amat elok parasnya. Maka banyaklah segala isi negeri daripada segala orang besar-besar dan segala ulama dan segala orang yang mulia menelangkai dia tiada juga kuberikan dan tiada kuketahui dengan siapa jua ia kukahwinkan. Katakan olehmu barang yang pada bica-ramu." Maka sahutnya, "Ya tuanku, adapun segala kafir pada jaman dahulu kala adalah mereka itu berkehendak akan orang yang berasal dan orang yang budiman lagi bangsawan. Adapun segala Yahudi dan Nasrani adalah mereka itu berkehendak akan<sup>230</sup> kelakuan yang baik dan paras yang elok. Adapun pada jaman Rasul Allah (sallallahu alaihi wa salam) adalah segala mereka itu berkehendakkan orang yang beragama dan akan orang yang takut akan Allah Taala. Adapun pada jaman sekarang ini adalah segala manusia itu berkehendakkan arta. Maka pilih

<sup>226</sup>from B, C and E. <sup>227</sup>B, C and E diketahui.

<sup>228</sup>C adds *tiada tuan suruhkan hamba memakan dia dan*.

<sup>229</sup>A *junjunglah*. <sup>230</sup>E adds *orang yang*.

olehmu dalam empat perkara ini apa yang tuan kehendaki."

Maka kata Kadi, "Hai sahayaku, sanya yang telah kupilih dalam empat perkara ini orang yang beragama lagi<sup>231</sup> takut akan Allah Taala dan orang yang kepercayaan. Bahwa yang kukehendaki itu kukahwinkan engkau dengan anakku dari karena bahwasanya telah adalah padamu perangai yang saleh lagi kepercayaan dan takut akan Allah Taala lagi beragama." Maka sahut Mubarak, "Ya tuhanku, bahwasanya hamba seorang sahaya Hindi yang hitam lagi tuan tebus<sup>232</sup> akan hamba dengan arta tuanhamba, maka betapa tuan kahwinkan hamba dengan anak tuanhamba dan betapa tuan pilih hamba akan suami anak tuanhamba, dan betapa ia rela akan hamba?" Maka kata Kadi akan dia, "Marilah engkau sertaku ke rumahku supaya kubicarakan pekerjaan itu."

Hatta maka Mubarakpun pergilah ke rumahnya serta tuannya. Maka tatkala sampailah keduanya ke rumah, maka kata Kadi akan isterinya, "Ketahui olehmu bahwa sahaya kita ini orang beragama lagi takut akan Allah Taala, bahwa kukasihilah akan dia karena ia saleh lagi baik perbuatannya<sup>233</sup>. Akan sekarang aku hendak mengahwinkan dia dengan anakku lagi dikau apa | bicaramu?" Maka sahut isterinya, "Mana-mana yang berkenan pada<sup>234</sup> hati tuanhamba, maka hamba pun berkenanlah." Maka kata Kadi, "Tetapi pergi jua engkau kepada anak kita dan engkau beritahu kepadanya supaya kudengar apa jawabnya." Maka isterinyapun pergilah kepada anaknya serta disampaikan-nyalah kepada anaknya segala kata suaminya itu. Maka sahut anaknya, "Hai ibu hamba, mana bicara ayahanda dan bunda itu hamba turutlah. Dan tiada hamba mau menyalahi hukum Allah dan hukum tuanhamba kedua, dan tiada mau durhaka akan ayahanda dan bunda<sup>235</sup> pada segala barang pekerjaan tuan-

---

<sup>231</sup> B, C and E add *orang yang*. <sup>232</sup> C *balas*.

<sup>233</sup> *baik perbuatannya: E kelakuanannya amat baik.*

<sup>234</sup> *Mana-mana yang berkenan pada: E mana berkehendak dan berkenannya kepada.*

<sup>235</sup> *ayahanda dan bunda: C ibu bapa.*

hamba<sup>236</sup>."

Setelah itu maka Kadipun menikahkan anaknya dengan sahaya-nya bernama Mubarak itulah serta diberinya akan keduanya arta yang amat banyak. Dengan takdir Allah Taala berapa lamanya maka anak Kadi itupun hamillah, lalu beranak se-orang laki-laki dinamai akan dia Abdullah, (ia itulah termazkur dan termasyhur namanya dalam segala alam, Abdullah)<sup>237</sup> ibn Mubarak Alim yang zahid lagi sakhi<sup>238</sup> menceritakan beberapa hadis (radi Allah anhu). Insyaa Allah Taala lagi akan diceriterakan fakir ceriteranya pada bab sakhawat<sup>239</sup>.

#### Story 28

Kata Munim ibn Idris (rahmatullah alaihi):

Pada suatu hari hamba pergi kepada Kaabu'l-Ahbari. Maka kata hamba akan dia, "Ya Abu Ishak, ceriterai apalah kira-nya akan hamba daripada ceritera yang tuanhamba dengar atau ceritera yang tuanhamba lihat daripada kaum bani Israil."

---

<sup>236</sup>E adds *Maka isterinyapun sampaikanlah kepada suaminya segala perkataan anaknya itu.*

<sup>237</sup>from B, C and E. <sup>238</sup>A *sakhi*

<sup>239</sup>A *sakhawat*; E adds *di dalam kitab Siratu's-Salatin ini jua. Wallahu alam bil-taufik. Tomatlah fakir daripada menyalinnya ini kepada torikh yaumu'l-ahad daripada sehari jumadilakhir bulan daripada hijrahu'l-nabuyat 1234. Tamat. Wallahu alam bis-sawab. E ends its excerpts from Book IV here. At the side of this final page is written Maka adalah tersebut dalam kitab Siratu's-Salatin firman Allah Taala tatkala menjadikan dunia, berfirman Ia, "Hai dunia, barang siapa berbuat bakti kepada-Ku, maka berbuat khidmatlah engkau akan dia. Dan barang siapa berbuat khidmat akan dikau, maka kauperhambalah akan dia." These few phrases correspond to A p 278-279.*

Hatta maka iapun berceriteralah katanya:

Ada seorang laki-laki saudagar daripada kaum bani Israil adalah ia terlalu kaya. Dan isterinyapun terlalu (elok)<sup>240</sup> parasnya lagi amat budiman serta dengan takutnya akan Allah subhanahu wa taala, lagi ia berbuat bakti pada suaminya bernama Husna. Dan adalah suaminya itu sangat cemburuan seorang pun tiada ada dipercayanya.

Sekali persetua pada suatu hari saudagar itu hendak pergi berniaga dan tiada ada baginya seorang jua daripada keluarganya melainkan saudaranya laki-laki yang seibu seapak<sup>241</sup> dengan dia jua. Maka dipanggilnya akan dia serta katanya, "Hai saudaraku, bahwasanya engkau mengetahui bahwa aku sangat kasih sayang akan isteriku dan ia pun demikianlah kasihnya akan daku; akan sekarang aku hendak pergi berniaga tiada seorang jua pun kepercayaanku melainkan engkau jua saudaraku yang seibu seapak<sup>241</sup> dengan daku dan engkaulah melengerakan dan memelihara isteriku kemudian daripada perjalananku ini. Dan jangan kauberi seseorang jua pun memasukkan sesuatu kepadanya melainkan daripada pihak tingkapnya jua, dan engkaulah mengetahui bahwasanya syaitan itu berseteru dengan segala manusia." Maka sahut saudaranya, "Hai saudaraku, janganlah pesan akan hamba." Maka kata saudagar itu, "Bahwa Allah Taala jua memelihara kamu kedua."

314 Setelah itu maka saudagar itupun pergilah, maka dikerjakan laki-laki itulah seperti pesan saudaranya. Tiap-tiap hari berulang ia datang melihat hal ahual isterinya saudaranya hingga pintunya jua, | serta ia memberi salam, "Assalam alaikum, ya isi rumah, adakah sesuatu hajat bagi kamu?" Demikianlah pekerjaannya pada tiap-tiap hari.

---

<sup>240</sup> from B and C; C has considerably abridged the account in several places especially towards the end of the narrative:

<sup>241</sup> A *sebaka*.

Pada suatu hari ia datang berseru-seru, maka tiada seorang jua pun menyahuti dia. Maka adalah tatkala itu isteri saudagar itu mandi. Maka iapun naiklah daripada tingkap rumah itu lalu masuk. Maka dilihatnya isteri saudaranya itu mandi telanjang. Demi dilihat Husna akan dia, maka iapun menutupi tubuhnya dengan rambutnya itu terlalu panjang jadi tertutuplah segala tubuhnya. Demi dilihat oleh saudara saudagar itu maka iapun berahilah akan isteri saudaranya jadilah ia seperti laku orang gila, maka katanya akan iparnya<sup>242</sup>, "Hai Husna, tiada pernah hamba melihat perempuan yang terlebih baik parasnya daripada tuanhamba." Maka sahut Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, beberapa perempuan yang terlebih baik parasnya daripada hamba jika tuanhamba cari, niscaya tuanhamba peroleh yang lebih daripada hamba dalam negeri ini."

Kata yang empunya ceritera: Maka iapun keluarlah dari rumah itu, tetapi hatinya lekatlah kepada iparnya<sup>242</sup> itu. Hatta maka dihipunkanlah segala perempuan penjaruman lalu diberinya akan mereka sekaliannya itu upah, serta katanya, "Hai tuan-tuan, carikan apalah kiranya akan hamba seorang perempuan seperti rupa Husna." Maka sekalian mereka itu-pun pergilah mencari perempuan seperti kehendaknya itu, maka tiada dapat seorang pun tiada. Setelah itu maka sekalian mereka itupun kembalilah serta katanya, "Sudahlah hamba cari orang seperti rupa dia itu tiada hamba peroleh<sup>243</sup>."

Hatta maka tatkala jauhlah malam dan tidurlah segala manusia, maka iapun pergilah kepada rumah Husna itu lalu masuklah ia. Maka dibangunkanlah Husna itu daripada tidurnya serta katanya, "Hai Husna, telah hamba suruhkan segala penjaruman mencari seperti rupa tuanhamba tiada jua

---

<sup>242</sup> B and C *isteri saudaranya.*

<sup>243</sup> *sudahlah hamba cari orang yang seperti rupa dia itu tiada hamba peroleh: B telah sudahlah kami sekalian cahari seperti perempuan yang tuanhamba kehendaki itu; C telah sudahlah kami cari seperti perempuan yang tuanhamba kehendaki itu tiada kami peroleh.*

diperolehnya." Maka sahut Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, apa kehendak tuanhamba?" Maka katanya, "Kehendak hamba seperti kehendak laki-laki dengan perempuan." Maka sahut Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, ketakuti olehmu akan Allah subhanahu wa taala dan akan azab neraka, bahwa saudaramu suami hamba lagi kepercayaanya daripada segala barang hal hamba, maka demikianlah kehendak tuan akan hamba? Jikalau orang lain hendak mengerjakan yang demikian itu, tuanhambalah yang patut melarangkan dia."

Maka kata laki-laki itu, "Hai Husna, pekerjaan kita ini tiada diketahui saudara hamba karena iapun lagi gaib tiada melihat kita dan tiada ia mendengar perkataan kita ini." Maka sahut Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, jikalau saudara tuanhamba gaib, tetapi Allah subhanahu wa taala hadir mengetahui hal kita. Ketakuti olehmu akan Allah Taala, dan tuan jauhkanlah syaitan yang pada tuanhamba." Maka kata laki-laki itu, "Tak dapat tiada tuan kabulkan jua kehendak hamba?" Maka sahut Husna, "Tiada mau berbuat khianat akan suami hamba dan tiadalah sekali-kali hamba berbuat durhaka akan Tuhan yang menjadikan, dan kepada-Nyalah hamba menyerahkan diri. Tuan perbuatlah barang kehendak tuanhamba." Maka laki-laki itupun tiadalah sampai maksudnya. Maka keluarlah ia dari rumah itu lalu ia kembali ke rumahnya.

Setelah siang hari maka iapun pergilah ke pekan, maka dibelinya makan-makanan dan pakaian yang baik. Maka dipanggilinya empat orang laki-laki yang tuha serta diperjamunya akan mereka itu dan dipersalininya dan dihormatinya. Maka katanya akan mereka itu, "Hai tuan-tuan, ada suatu hajat hamba yang besar kepada tuan-tuan." Maka sahut mereka itu, "Apa kehendak tuanhamba kami luluskanlah seperti kehendak tuanhamba itu." Maka kata laki-laki itu, "Bahwa kehendak hamba ini ada seorang perempuan isteri saudara hamba, Husna namanya, hamba lihat berzina dengan seorang laki-laki tetapi tiada saksi pada hamba; dan kehendak hamba tuantuanlah akan saksi hamba dan tuanhamba pergilah bersama-sama dengan hamba kepada Kadi." Maka sahut mereka itu,

"Kamilah naik saksi kepada Kadi serta dengan tuan jikalau ada saksi dusta sekali pun."

Setelah itu maka laki-laki itupun pergilah kepada Kadi, maka sampailah ia serta memberi salam lalu duduklah ia di hadapan Kadi serta katanya, "Hai Kadi segala Islam, ada suatu hajat hamba kepada tuanhamba." Maka sahut Kadi, "Hajatmu itu apa, hai laki-laki?" Maka katanya, "Bahwa ada seorang perempuan isteri saudara hamba, Husna namanya, berbuat zina dengan seorang laki-laki." Maka sahut Kadi, "Adakah saksimu melihat yang demikian itu?" (Maka sahutnya, "Bahkan, ada empat orang laki-laki yang tuha.")<sup>244</sup> Maka kata Kadi, "Panggil olehmu sekalian mereka itu." Maka ia-pun pergilah memanggil saksi itu."

Hatta maka saksi itupun datanglah kepada Kadi serta ia memberi salam. Maka kata Kadi akan sekalian mereka itu, "Betapa pengetahuan kamu akan isteri itu?" Maka sahut sekalian mereka itu, "Hai Kadi segala Islam, kamilah melihat dia itu berbuat zina dengan seorang laki-laki." Maka kata Kadi akan mereka itu, "Duduklah kamu, kucuruh panggil akan mereka itu yang perempuan." Hatta maka disuruh (Kadi orang)<sup>245</sup> panggil perempuan. Maka orang itupun pergilah dan adalah perempuan itu tiada tahu akan pekerjaan itu.

Maka penyuruh Kadi itupun sampailah serta katanya, "Hai Husna, bahwa engkau dipanggil Kadi dengan segeranya." Maka sahut Husna, "Tiadakah engkau takut akan Allah Taala meng-gagahi manggil<sup>246</sup> aku ini karena aku takut akan Allah Taala daripada berbuat dosa? Dan tiada masuk keluar kepadaku seorang jua pun dalam rumahku ini." Maka kata penyuruh Kadi itu, "Lebih dari itupun kugagahi jua akan dikau." Serta dijeratnya batang leher perempuan itu dengan tali, lalu dihelanya dibawanya berjalan dari tengah pekan. Maka sekalian manusia melihat kepadanya tiada pernah dilihat | me-reka itu akan seseorang perempuan dibawa orang seperti yang

316

<sup>244</sup> from C.      <sup>245</sup> from B and C.      <sup>246</sup> B panggil.

demikian itu dengan terbuka kepalanya.

Maka datanglah ia ke hadapan Kadi serta ia memberi salam lalu ia mengherib<sup>247</sup> serta katanya, "Hai Kadi segala Islam, adakah tuanhamba lihat barang yang hamba perbuat? Bahwa hamba seorang perempuan yang takut akan Allah Taala tiada seorang jua pun masuk dan keluar ke rumah hamba." Maka sahut Kadi, "Hai perempuan, tiadakah engkau takut akan Allah Taala, maka engkau berbuat khianat akan suamimu?" Maka kata perempuan, "Demi Allah, tiada hamba berbuat khianat akan suami hamba dan tiada hamba berbuat durhaka akan Allah Taala." Maka dipanggil Kadi saksi itu dan saudara suaminya, maka mereka itupun datanglah. Maka Kadi berkata akan mereka itu, "Apa pengetahuan kamu akan perempuan ini?" Maka sahut sekalian mereka itu, "Bahwasanya kami dapat ia berbuat zina dengan seorang laki-laki dan adalah suaminya pergi berlayar."

Maka kata Kadi, "Hai perempuan yang berbuat khianat, dengarlah, apa jawabmu?" Maka sahut Husna, "Hamba serahkanlah diri hamba kepada barang yang ditakdirkan Allah Taala." Maka kata Kadi, "Wajib atasmu direjam hingga mati engkau." Maka kata pula Kadi akan segala saksi dan laki-laki itu, "Hai segala saksi, kamulah menanggung dosa perempuan ini, lepaslah aku daripada dosa."

Maka disuruh Kadi undangan<sup>248</sup> dalam negeri ini demikian bunyinya, "Hai segala isi negeri, berhimpunlah sekalian kamu, jangan tinggal seorang jua (-pun)<sup>249</sup>, laki-laki dan perempuan kecil dan besar hendaklah kamu sekalian hadir." Maka diundangan<sup>248</sup> oranglah. Hatta maka sekalian isi negeripun berhimpunlah. Tatkala itu maka Husnapun dibawa oranglah kepada tempat merejam. Maka manusia datang kepada Kadi melihat kepada rupa Husna. Kata setengah manusia, "Baik jua ia mati daripada hidup." Dan kata setengah, "Sayangnya ia mati."

<sup>247</sup> A mangharib; C mengharap.

<sup>248</sup> B and C serentakan.

<sup>249</sup> from B and C.



Maka disuruh Kadi orang menghimpunkan batu dan mengorek lubang, maka dikerjakan oranglah. Setelah itu maka disuruh Kadi tanamkan akan dia pada lubang itu. Maka ditanamkan oranglah akan dia hingga lututnya. Maka kata Kadi akan saudara suami Husna dan kepada saksi itu, "Hai sekalian kamu, bahwasanya aku tiada menanggung dosa perempuan ini benar salahnya, atas kamulah hai laki-laki, engkaulah pertama merejam dia kemudian maka sekalian saksi<sup>250</sup>."

317

Setelah itu maka diambil Kadi suatu batu yang kecil. Maka tatkala hendak direjam Kadi akan dia, maka Kadipun menangislah dengan kasihan hatinya melihat lalu dilotarkannyalah batu itu. Maka kata Kadi akan sekalian manusia, "Rejamlah oleh kamu." Maka direjam sekalian mereka itulah akan Husna daripada tiap-tiap pihak. Maka cucurlah darah daripada mukanya. Maka tatkala dilihat Kadi akan perempuan itu sudah kena rejam pecahlah daging pada tubuhnya dan kelihatanlah segala uratnya, maka pada sangka Kadi bahwasanya ia matilah. Maka kata kadi akan sekalian manusia, "Janganlah kamu rejam akan dia, kamu keluarkanlah daripada lubang itu."

Maka dikeluarkan oranglah akan dia, lalu dibuangkan kepada tempat segala kubur orang yang banyak. Maka tatkala didengar perempuan bani Israil kabar itu, maka sekalian mereka itupun ketakutanlah akan dirinya. Maka tatkala malam hari, maka datanglah segala anjing dan segala binatang yang buas-buas karena mencium bau darah Husna itu. Maka dititahkan Allah Taala beberapa malaikat memeliharakan dia daripada segala binatang itu hingga fajarlah hari. Maka bertiuplah angin yang bernama Tiah kepada tubuh Husna itu, maka iapun nyedarlah daripada pingsannya lalu ia bernafas serta mengherik katanya, "Ngapa aku direjam karena aku tiada berdosa?" Dan adalah tempat kubur itu di sisi jalan raya.

---

<sup>250</sup> B adds *kemudian maka yang pertama merejam Husna saudara suaminya, kemudian maka sekalian saksi*; the version in C is unclear.

Hatta maka lalu seorang Badui berkenderaan atas unta dan ada sertanya seorang sahayanya. Tatkala hampirlah ia kepada kubur itu, maka didengarnya bunyi orang ngerang. Maka Badui itupun berhenti serta katanya pada sahayanya, "Adakah kau-dengar seperti pendengarku ini?" Maka sahut sahayanya, "Ada diperhamba dengar suara orang ngerang seperti tuanhamba jua. Bahwa pada sangka hamba adalah seorang pingsan, maka disangka orang akan dia sudah mati, maka sekarang mudah-mudahan sudah sembuh daripada pingsannya." Maka kata Badui itu akan sahayanya, "Hai sahayaku, kaunanti kiranya aku pada tempat ini supaya aku pergi melihat dia dan kaulihat segala hal ahualku, jika ada suatu bahaya datang kepadaku segera kautolongi."

Setelah itu maka iapun pergilah lalu diikutnya<sup>251</sup> suara itu hingga sampailah ia pada tempat segala kubur itu. Maka /<sup>252</sup> (dilihatnya ada seorang perempuan terguling di sana)<sup>253</sup>. Maka dikuiskannya dengan kakinya serta katanya, "Siapa engkau ini, manusiakah atau jinkah atau isi kubur inikah?" Maka sahut perempuan, "Hai laki-laki yang datang kepada hamba, beri apalah kiranya hamba air barang seteguk supaya pagi jemah dianugerahai Allah Taala akan tuanhamba air yang daripada kodrat-Nya." Maka kata Badui itu, "Hai perempuan, pada sangkaku engkaulah perempuan yang dikata orang berbuat zina." Maka sahut perempuan itu, "Bahkan, hambalah perempuan yang seperti kata tuanhamba; tetapi demi Allah tiada hamba berbuat zina dan tiada hamba berbuat durhaka akan Tuhan yang menjadikan hamba dan tiada hamba khianat akan suami hamba. Tuan beri apalah kiranya akan hamba seteguk air."

Maka Badui itupun berseru-seru akan sahayanya, maka sahayanya itupun menyahut, "Labbaika," lalu ia datang. Maka kata Badui, "Hai sahayaku<sup>254</sup>, inilah perempuan yang kita dengar kabarnya itu." Maka kata Badui itu, "Bahkan, bahwasanya ia

<sup>251</sup> B and C add *bunyi*.

<sup>252</sup> / *dilihat ada orang terguling orang perempuan*.

<sup>253</sup> from B and C.

<sup>254</sup> *maka kata Badui hai sahayaku: C maka sahut sahayanya tuanku.*

minta air minum." Maka sahut sahayanya, "Baiklah tuanhamba beri akan dia, mudah-mudahan diberi Allah Taala akan tuan air Sungai Kauthar yang maha suci itu."

Hatta maka bersegeralah Badui itu memberi akan dia air yang sejuk. Maka kata perempuan itu, "Hai hamba Allah, tiada ada pada hamba daging yang sejahtera dan tiada ada kuat pada tangan kaki hamba." Maka sahut Badui itu, "Betapa perinya aku memberi engkau minum air ini?" Maka sahut Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, tuan angkatkan kiranya kepala hamba, maka tuan tuangkan air itu ke mulut hamba." Hatta maka diangkatkanlah kepalanya, serta dituangkannya air itu ke mulut Husna hingga puaslah dahaganya dan kuatlah ia serta katanya, "Hai hamba Allah, maukah tuanhamba berbuat pahala yang amat besar dengan karena Allah?" Maka sahut Badui, "Apa pahala yang kaukatakan itu?" Maka kata perempuan itu, "Tuan bawa apalah kiranya hamba serta tuanhamba, jikalau hamba mati tuan perolehlah pahala yang amat besar, dan jika hamba hidup niscaya berbuat khidmatlah akan tuanhamba selama hidup hamba."

Maka kata Badui itu akan sahayanya, "Hai sahayaku, apa bicaramu?" Maka sahutnya, "Baiklah kita kerjakan inilah kebajikan perniagaan yang terbaik kita peroleh." Maka laki-laki itu pun pergilah mengambil untanya. Setelah itu maka kata Badui itu akan sahayanya, "Hai sahayaku, kaujabat kakinya aku yang menjabat kepalanya." Maka diangkat keduanya lalu dimuatkannya akan perempuan itu ke atas rengga untanya, serta diselimuti dengan kain supaya jangan kelihatan bekas darah. Lalu dibawanyalah berjalan ke kampungnya hingga sampailah ia pada waktu asar, maka diturunkanlah perempuan itu dari atas unta lalu dibawanya naik ke rumahnya.

Demi dilihat isteri Badui akan perempuan itu maka katanya, "Hai suamiku, akan apa perempuan ini? Akan madu hambakah?" Maka sahut Badui itu, "Demi Allah, tiada aku berkehendak berbuat jahat pada perempuan ini tetapi kisahnya terlalu ajaib sekali kudengar." Maka diceriterakan segala hal ahualnya. Maka berkata pula ia, "Hanya sanya kubawa perempuan karena pahala yang amat besar jua. Jikalau ia hidup niscaya

berbuat khidmatlah ia kepada kita, dan jika ia mati kita peroleh pahala yang amat besar." Maka kata isteri Badui itu, "Hai suamiku, jikalau benar seperti kata tuanhamba itu, niscaya sertalah hamba memelihara dia." Maka sahut Badui itu, "Demi Allah, tiada kubawa perempuan ini karena sesuatu kehendakku, hanya sanya karena Allah jua."

319

Maka isteri Badui itupun suka ia daripada kata suaminya serta segera diberinya makan dan diobatinya akan perempuan itu, dan dihamparinya suatu hamparan. Maka isteri Badui itupun pergilah memanggil seorang tabib, serta diberinya akan dia upah daripada beberapa arta. Maka diobati tabib itulah akan dia hingga beberapa hari lamanya, maka Husna pun sembuhlah daripada lukanya itu dan kembalilah seperti rupa yang dahulu.

Demi dilihat Badui akan rupa Husna itu terlalu elok parasnya, maka iapun berahilah seraya katanya, "Hai Husna, aku hendak kahwin dengan dikau." Maka kata Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, ada pada hamba suami tetapi ia gaib belum kembali." Maka kata Badui, "Hai Husna, tak dapat tiada kaukabulkanlah seperti kehendak aku ini?" Maka sahut Husna, "Hai tuanhamba, maukah tuanhamba menghilangkan segala pahala yang tuanhamba raruhkan kepada Allah subhanahu wa taala? Tetapi tuan ingatkanlah janji tuanhamba dengan Allah Taala itu dan janganlah tuanhamba mensia-siakan amal kebajikan tuanhamba dengan perbuatan ini karena yang demikian itu keinginan hawa nafsu jua dan kesudahannya durhaka akan Allah Taala jua adanya."

Kata sahibulhikayat: Maka Badui itupun ingatlah akan janjinya dengan Allah subhanahu wa taala. Maka diilangkan Allah berahinya itu serta ia tobat kepada Allah Taala dan diluputkannya akan Iblis yang mencabuli dia serta katanya, "Hai Husna, kupersaksikanlah engkau kepada Allah Taala bahwasanya engkau haramlah padaku seperti ibuku." Maka sahut Husna, "Adalah suatu hajat hamba kepada tuanhamba." Maka kata Badui, "Apa hajatmu itu?" Maka kata Husna, "Tuanhamba berilah kiranya anak tuanhamba itu, hamba peliharakan." Maka diberikan Badui itulah anaknya. Hatta maka

dipeliharakannyalah anak Badui itu. Apabila selesailah ia daripada berbuat ibadat akan Allah Taala, maka didukungnyalah<sup>255</sup> anak Badui, dan dipermain-mainnyalah hingga hilanglah daripadanya percintaannya akan suaminya dan akan peri ia kena rejam serta ia memuji Allah dan mengucap syukur yang amat banyak.

Maka adalah sahaya Badui itu apabila ia masuk ke rumahnya, maka dipandangnya kepada muka Husna. Maka Husnapun memalingkan mukanya dan adalah demikian halnya berapa lamanya. Sekali persetua pada suatu hari masuk sahaya Badui itu ke rumah tuannya, maka dilihatnya Husna minum air. Maka diletapkannyalah penglihatnya kepada Husna, tetapi Husna tiada melihat dia. Maka iapun berahilah dengan berahi yang amat sangat karena melihat elok parasnya Husna itu, lalu katanya, "Hai Husna, telah lekatlah berahi hati hamba kepada tuanhamba." Maka sahut Husna, "Apa kehendakmu engkau berkata demikian itu?" Maka kata sahaya itu, "Hamba hendak akan tuanhamba." Maka sahut Husna, "Tiadakah engkau takut akan Allah? Janganlah banyak perkataanmu kepadaku, jikalau aku hendak kahwin dengan seseorang seniscaya kuperoleh yang terbaik daripadamu."

320 Maka kata sahaya itu, "Demi Allah, hai Husna, jikalau tiada tuan berkenankan seperti yang kehendakku ini, niscaya hamba fadihatkanlah akan tuanhamba dengan fadihat yang amat besar." Maka sahut Husna, "Tiada aku mau bersuamikan sahaya yang hitam, lagi tiada aku mau berbuat |durhaka akan Tuhan yang menjadikan daku dan tiada aku mau berbuat khianat akan suamiku. Sekali-kali kuperbuatlah barang kehendakmu, bahwasanya Allah Taala jua memeliharakan daku daripada makarmu itu dan Ia jua yang amat membelakan<sup>256</sup> daku dan sebaik-baik tempat menyerahkan diri kepada-Nya."

Kata sahibulhikayat: Maka sahaya itupun keluarlah dari rumah itu dan adalah hatinya berdendam<sup>257</sup> diharu oleh

<sup>255</sup> A d-b-d-w-k-ng-ny-l-h.

<sup>256</sup> A mambidaken.

<sup>257</sup> A bardamdamlah.

syaitan hendak membunuh Husna jua. Maka pada suatu malam datanglah ia kepada rumah tuannya, tatkala itu didapatinya Husna tengah tidur serta memeluk anak Badui itu. Maka dihunusnya sekin, lalu disembelihnya akan anak tuannya itu. Maka dilumurkannya darah kanak-kanak itu kepada tubuh Husna, dan dihantarkannya sekin itu di bawah bantalnya. Dan adalah Husna itu tiada tahu akan perbuatan sahaya itu demikian.

Setelah siang hari maka Badui itupun jagalah daripada tidurnya, maka dilihatnya bekas darah berhamburan. Maka lalu ia masuk pada tempat ketidurannya Husna, maka dilihatnya akan dia dalam tidurnya jua dan anaknya tersembelinya dan pada tubuh Husna itu penuh darah. Maka dibangunkan Baduilah akan dia daripada tidurnya seraya katanya, "Hai murka Allah, inikah balasmu akan daku karena berbuat kebajikan (akan) <sup>258</sup> dikau dan beberapa artaku kubelanjakan <sup>259</sup> padamu? Maka sekarang kaubalas akan daku dengan demikian ini."

Hatta maka Husnapun jagalah daripada tidurnya tiada diketahuinya akan hal ahualnya yang demikian itu. Maka Badui itupun menangis daripada melihat anaknya itulah halnya <sup>260</sup> dan Husna pun menangis dengan tangis yang sangat serta katanya, "Hai tuanhamba, berbuat zinakah besar dosanya atau membunuh manusiakah besar? Tatkala tuanhamba kehendaki berbuat zina dengan hamba / <sup>261</sup> tiada hamba kabulkan. Maka betapa perinya hamba membunuh anak tuanhamba? Tiadakah hamba takut akan Allah subhanahu wa taala dan akan tuanhamba? Demi Allah tiada pekerjaan hamba sebai ini." Maka sahut Badui itu, "Hai Husna, demi Allah, tiada lagi aku menaruh dikau dalam rumah ini, jikalau tiada engkau membunuh anakku sekalipun aku pun tiada tahu akan kebenaranmu, tetapi bahwasanya perempuan itu kurang akal nya dan lemah agamanya, keluarlah engkau daripada rumahku. Kuberi akan dikau dirham akan bekal mu, tiadalah suka hatiku melihat dikau lagi karena

---

<sup>258</sup> from B and C.      <sup>259</sup> C kubiayakan.

<sup>260</sup> itulah halnya: B and C tersembelih itu.      <sup>261</sup> / tuan.

kematian anakku ini." Maka diberinyalah akan dia lima ratus dinar<sup>262</sup> dan pakaian, serta dikeluarkanlah dari rumahnya.

321 Setelah itu maka Husnapun keluarlah dari rumah Badui itu tiada diketahuinya ke mana /<sup>263</sup> (kepergiannya)<sup>264</sup>, maka iapun berjalan. Hatta maka bertemu ia dengan orang berjalan, lalu diikutnyalah hingga sampai | kepada suatu negeri dari- pada kaum bani Israil. Maka dilihatnya beberapa orang berhimpun melihat orang laki-laki muda disula orang tetapi ia hidup. Maka bertanya Husna kepada sekalian mereka itu, "Apa dosanya orang muda itu disula orang?" Maka sahut mereka itu, "Bahwa laki-laki ini memegang<sup>265</sup> arta raja habislah dimakannya suatupun tiada ada yang tinggal; hingga dibayarnya sekalian arta itu, maka lepaslah ia daripada sulaannya." Maka berkata Husna<sup>266</sup>, "Berapa banyak arta itu?" Maka sahut mereka itu, "Empat ratus dirham." Maka kata Husna, "Tuan bunuhkah /<sup>267</sup> (seorang laki-laki yang Islam karena)<sup>268</sup> empat ratus dirham?" Maka sahut segala mereka itu, "Bahkan, tak dapat tiada kami bunuh jua." Maka diberi Husna akan dia empat ratus dirham serta katanya, "Tuan tanggalkanlah orang laki-laki daripada sulaannya."

Kelakian maka Husnapun berjalanlah, maka dirham itupun diambilnya mereka itulah dan laki-laki itupun ditanggalkannya daripada sulaannya. Maka tatkala diturunkan, maka orang muda itu bertanya, "Hai segala kaumku, siapa melepaskan hamba ini daripada terbunuh dan meluputkan hamba daripada siksa? Tunjukkan kiranya hamba hingga hamba balas akan dia dengan kebajikan?" Maka sahut mereka itu, "Perempuan yang berjalan itulah yang melepaskan dikau daripada terbunuh dan meluputkan dikau daripada siksa."

Maka laki-laki itupun mengikut perempuan itu serta katanya,

---

<sup>262</sup> *dinar* and *dirham* are used as synonyms in this story.

<sup>263</sup> / *aku pergi ini*. <sup>264</sup> from B and C. <sup>265</sup> B and C *mencabut*.

<sup>266</sup> B and C add *hai kaum*. <sup>267</sup> / *orang itu padahal Islam karena orang*.

<sup>268</sup> from B; C *seorang lagi orang Islam karena*.

"Hai perempuan yang saleh, tuan nanti apakah kiranya hamba?" Maka Husnapun berdirilah menanti dia, maka kata laki-laki itu akan dia, "Tuanhambakah yang melepaskan hamba daripada terbunuh dan membayar hutang hamba empat ratus dirham itu, maka luputlah hamba daripada kesakitan?" Maka sahut Husna, "Bahkan, hambalah membayar hutang tuanhamba." Maka kata laki-laki itu, "Bahwa hamba mengucapkan syukur akan tuanhamba dan hamba balas jua kebajikan tuanhamba itu." Maka sahut Husna, "Pergilah tuanhamba barang ke mana kehendak tuan." Maka kata laki-laki itu, "Bahwa hamba kehendaki berbuat khidmat kepada tuanhamba jua." Maka sahut Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, tiada hamba berkehendak akan khidmat dan balas daripada tuanhamba itu."

Kata sahibulhikayat: Demi didengar laki-laki itu kata Husna demikian, maka iapun kembalilah tetapi hatinya berahi akan dia dan galiblah hawa nafsunya lagi keraslah bencana syaitan atasnya. Lalu diikutnya pula akan Husna serta katanya akan dia, "Hai Husna, tuan ambil apakah kiranya akan hamba akan suami tuanhamba?" Maka sahut Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, bahwasanya lagi ada suami hamba." Maka kata laki-laki, "Hai Husna, tuan perkenankan jua kata hamba ini." Maka sahut Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, inikah balasmu akan hamba dengan kata yang tiada patut? Tiadakah tuan takut akan Allah Taala?" Maka laki-laki itu berkata pula, "Jikalau tiada tuan kabulkan kehendak hamba ini, niscaya hamba gagahi jua akan tuanhamba." Lalu hendak ditangkapnya akan Husna, maka Husnapun minta doa kepada Allah subhanahu wa taala demikian bunyinya, "Ya Tuhanku<sup>269</sup>, Kauanugerahai kiranya akan hamba-Mu melawan laki-laki ini." Setelah sudah ia minta doa demikian, maka ditangkapnya akan laki-laki itu, lalu dihempaskannya ke bumi.

322

Maka tatkala diketahui laki-laki itu bahwa tiadalah ia dapat melawan dia, maka katanya, "Demi Allah, hai Husna, bahwa engkau itu kubinasakan jua." Hatta maka diikutnya pula

---

<sup>269</sup> A *tuanku*.



akan dia hingga sampai ia ke tepi laut. Maka Husnapun berhenti di sana. Hatta maka laki-laki itupun dilihatnya sebuah bahtera berlayar. Maka dilambainya akan dia, serta ia berseru-seru dengan nyaring suaranya, "Hai isi bahtera, tuan hampirkan kiranya bahteramu."

Demi didengar mereka itu serunya demikian, maka kata setengah mereka itu, "Bahwa laki-laki itu ada jua ia hendak mengadakan sesuatu halnya pada kita." Hatta maka orang bahtera itupun mengampirkan sampan ke tepi laut. Tatkala itu adalah Husna itu dalam hal letihnya daripada bekas berjalan mengistirahatkan dirinya dan tiada tahu apa diperbuat laki-laki itu akan dia. Maka tatkala hampirlah sampan itu ke darat, maka laki-laki itupun naiklah ke dalam sampan. Maka sampan itupun dibawa oranglah ke bahtera hingga sampailah ia lalu memberi salam ia kepadanya, maka disahuti oleh mereka itu salamnya.

Maka kata mereka itu akan dia, "Hai laki-laki, siapa tuanhamba dan apa hajat tuanhamba?" Maka sahutnya, "Hai tuan-tuan sekalian, bahwa hamba ini seorang anak raja, ayah hamba telah mati ditinggalkannya akan hamba beberapa arta yang amat banyak. Maka sekalian arta itupun habislah hamba betanjakan<sup>270</sup> tiada ada lagi tinggal suatu-suatu hanya seorang sahaya perempuan itu jua. Akan sekarang hendak hamba jualkan kepada suatu kaum." Maka dicuca<sup>271</sup> mereka itu akan anak raja itu daripada sangat papanya, maka dijualnya akan sahayanya yang dikasihinya lagi terlalu elok parasnya. Maka kata saudagar isi bahtera itu, "Hai anak raja, di mana sekarang sahaya tuanhamba itu?" Maka sahutnya, "Perempuan yang duduk di tepi laut itulah. Jika tuanhamba hendak membeli dia marilah pergi serta hamba melihat dia, tetapi jangan diketahui ia hamba jualkan."

Maka saudagar itu pergilah ke darat serta beberapa orang, maka mereka itupun datanglah kepada Husna lalu disimbatkan

---

<sup>270</sup> B and C *biayakan*.      <sup>271</sup> A *dicuca*; C *dicerca*.

mereka itu tudung kepalanya. Maka kata laki-laki itu, "Hai segala saudagar, tuan lihatlan keelokannya." Maka datang saudagar seorang dalam antara mereka itu, maka dilihatnya rupa Husna itu terlalu elok parasnya. Maka iapun memanggil segala saudagar tolannya, maka sekalian mereka itupundatnglah. Maka katanya akan mereka itu, "Hai tuan-tuan, bahwasanya (hamba)<sup>272</sup> tiada pernah melihat orang perempuan serupa ini." Maka segala saudagar itupun masing-masing melebihi harganya hingga sampai kepada empat ratus dirham, maka ditebus seorang saudagar daripada antara mereka itu.

323

Maka kata laki-laki yang menjual itu, "Sahwa hamba jual sahaya ini pada tuanhamba dengan suatu syarat." Maka sahut saudagar itu, "Apa syarat yang tuan kehendaki itu?" Maka kata laki-laki itu, "Jangan tuanhamba bawa sahaya itu kepada bahtera hingga (hamba)<sup>272</sup> kembali maka tuanhamba bawa akan dia karena bahwa ia kasih sangat akan hamba, jika diketahuinya hamba jual akan dia, niscaya dibunuh dirinya." Hatta maka diterimanyalah harganya lalu kembalilah ia, dan adalah pekerjaan laki-laki yang makar itu tiada diketahui Husna.

Setelah itu maka laki-laki itupun gaiblah daripada pemandangannya. Maka kata saudagar, "Hai Husna, marilah kita naik ke perahu." Maka sahut Husna, "Apa kerja hamba naik ke perahu?" Maka kata saudagar, "Sudahlah engkau kutibus daripada tuannya." Maka sahut Husna, "Hai hamba Allah, bahwa hamba bukan sahaya orang melainkan hamba Allah jua." Maka tatkala dilihat saudagar akan dia tiada mau pergi, maka iapun memanggil segala tolannya, maka mereka itupun datanglah. Maka kata saudagar akan sekalian (mereka itu)<sup>272</sup>, "Tuan tolong kiranya hamba membawa sahaya ini ke bahtera." Maka dibawa mereka itulah akan dia ke dalam bahtera.

Kelakian haripun malamlah, maka dijabat oleh saudagar akan Husna, maka diserpanya akan dia. Takdir Allah Taala maka tangan saudagar itupun lasalah, lalu ia berteriak serta

---

<sup>272</sup>from B.

katanya, "Hai segala tolanku, tolong apakah kiranya akan hamba." Maka sekalian mereka itupun terkejut serta katanya, "Apa tuan perbuat akan sahaya itu?" Maka sahut saudagar, "Hamba jabat tangannya, maka jadi lasalah tangan hamba." Maka diberi saudagarlah akan Husna empat ratus dinar serta katanya, "Hamba merdehekakanlah tuan dengan karena Allah." Maka Husnapun minta doa kepada Allah Taala, maka tangan saudagar itupun afiat. Maka sekalian mereka itupun tidurlah.

Maka pada pagi-pagi hari sekalian saudagar itupun turun ke tepi laut hendak mengambil air sembahyang, maka Husna pun sertalah. Maka dilihatnya segala saudagar akan Husna itu terlalu elok parasnya, maka sekalian mereka itupun hendaklah akan dia lalu Husnapun dinaikannya ke atas bahtera. Maka datang seorang saudagar, maka direbahkannya dirinya ke atas Husna. Maka Husna mengherik minta tolong serta katanya, "Hai isi bahtera, tuar tolong apakah kiranya akan hamba." Maka tiada seorang jua pun menolongi dia.

Setelah itu maka Husnapun mengangkatkan tangannya ke langit serta katanya, "Hai yang menolong segala yang mengadu kepada hadirat-Mu, tolongi apakah hamba-Mu daripada sekalian kaum ini dan barang yang dikehendaki mereka itu kepada hamba-Mu." Takdir Allah Taala angin ribut topan itu dan halilintarpun turunlah, maka lautpun berombaklah. Maka sekalian mereka itupun inginlah akan dirinya mati tiada diluput daripada bala ini.

324 Hatta maka tatkala | sampailah angin itu pada bahtera, maka diterbangkannya lah sekalian mereka itu, tiada tinggal seorang jua pun segala mereka itu. Maka dilihat Husna akan hal yang demikian itu, maka iapun memakai cara laki-laki serta disandangnya (pedang)<sup>273</sup> pada bahunya. Maka iapun duduklah di haluan bahtera itu serta katanya, "*Mā shā'a 'llāh kān wa-mā lam yashā' lam yakun lā hawl wa-lā quwwa illā bi-'llāh al-<sup>c</sup>alīyy al-<sup>c</sup>azīm.*"

---

<sup>273</sup>from B and C.

Maka topan itu teduhlah dengan takdir Allah Taala. Maka bahtera itupun sampailah ke tepi laut, tiba-tiba kelihatan sebuah negeri bani Israil jua. Maka orang negeri itupun datang ke bahtera itu, maka dilihat mereka itu seorang pun tiada ada, hanya seorang laki-laki. Maka kata sekalian mereka itu akan Husna, "Hai laki-laki, bawa oleh tuanhamba segala perniagaan, kami beli." Maka ditanya Husna akan mereka itu, "Adakah dalam negeri ini raja?" Maka sahut mereka itu, "Bahkan, ada." Maka kata Husna, "Kehendak hamba membawa sekalian perniagaan ini hamba persembahkan kepada raja dan barang yang tinggal sekalian tuan membeli dia." Serta katanya akan mereka itu, "Tuan tunggulah bahtera hamba ini dahulu dan tuan-tuan peliharakan segala arta dalamnya, hamba hendak mengadap raja hingga hamba kembali daripada mengadap raja." Maka mereka itupun kabullah.

Hatta maka iapun pergilah kepada seorang wazir, serta ia memberi salam. Maka kata wazir itu, "Apa kehendakmu?" Maka sahut Husna, "(Hamba hendak mengadap raja." Maka dibawa wazirlah akan dia kepada orang menunggu pintu raja itu, maka kata mereka itu, "Apa kehendakmu?" Maka sahut Husna,) <sup>274</sup> "Tuan persembahkan kiranya hamba ke bawah duli syah alam." Maka penunggu pintupun mengadaplah menyembahkan dia, maka dititahkan raja masuk.

Hatta maka iapun masuklah dengan menyandang pedangnya hingga sampailah ia ke hadapan raja, maka ia memberi salam. Demi dilihat raja akan dia terlalu elok parasnya lagi amat sikapnya, maka sabda raja, "Dari mana engkau datang?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahwa adalah diperhamba berlayar dengan sebuah bahtera dari negeri anu. Tiba-tiba turun angin topan dan ribut, maka segala orang isi bahtera itupun habis diterbangkan angin tiada seorang yang tinggal hanyalah diperhamba dengan segala artanya <sup>275</sup>. Akan sekarang tiada yang mempunyai arta itu melainkan syah alam

---

<sup>274</sup> from B.

<sup>275</sup> B adds *dan segala mata benda jua*; C adds *dan mata benda*.

yang patut mengambil dia barang dititahkan syah alam kiranya orang bersama-sama dengan diperhamba pergi mengambil arta itu."

325 Demi didengar raja sembahnya demikian, maka rajapun ajaiblah daripada menengar sembahnya dan daripada melihat elok parasnya. Kelakian maka rajapun berangkatlah ke tepi laut itu dengan segala rakyatnya lalu ia naik ke dalam bahtera itu. Maka segala arta yang dalam bahtera itupun diambil rajalah. Apabila sudah maka rajapun kembalilah ke istananya dengan sukacitanya, tetapi tiada diketahui akan Husna itu perempuan. Maka dianugerahainya akan dia sebuah rumah serta dengan belanjanya<sup>276</sup>. Maka Husnapun duduklah dalam rumah itu berbuat ibadat akan Allah subhanahu wa taala.

Kata sahibulhikayat: Adalah adat raja dalam negeri itu apabila hari jumat ialah naik khotbah. Maka tatkala dilihat raja akan Husna terlalu sangat berbuat ibadat ila<sup>277</sup> Allah Taala dan amat baik bicaranya, maka adalah raja itu apabila datang suatu pekerjaan kesukaran, maka dengan dialah musyawarah hingga dijadikannya akan dia wazir lagi dijadikannya khatibnya. Maka khotbahlah ia pada tiap-tiap jumat.

Hatta berapa lamanya maka raja itupun sakit dengan sakit yang sangat. Maka berdatang sembah segala wazir, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahwa diperhamba mohonkan seorang yang kepercayaan pada syah alam supaya melenggarakan diperhamba sekalian." Maka sabda raja, "Tiada seorang yang patut kulihat melenggarakan kamu sekalian melainkan orang muda yang abid itu jua." Setelah itu maka dititahkan raja orang memanggil dia, maka orang itupun pergilah.

Hatta maka Husnapun datanglah mengadap, lalu ia khidmat serta ia memberi salam. Maka sabda raja akan dia, "Hai orang muda, bahwa sakitku ini amat sangat, siapa tahu hukum Allah Taala akan daku, maka sekarang kujadikanlah engkau akan gantiku

---

<sup>276</sup> B and C *biayanya*.      <sup>277</sup> B *akan*.

melenggarakan segala rakyatku." Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, diperhamba junjunglah mana titah yang maha mulia itu." Maka iapun bermohon, lalu kembalilah ke rumahnya berbuat ibadat akan Allah subhanahu wa taala.

Hatta berapa hari lamanya, maka raja itupun kembali ke rahmat Allah. Arakian maka sekalian wazirpun datang kepada Husna serta (kata)<sup>278</sup> mereka itu, "Hai tuanku, bahwa raja diperhamba telah kembalilah ke rahmat Allah. Akan sekarang tuankulah menggantikan dia." Maka sabdanya, "Kabullah hamba."

Kata sahibulhikayat: Maka Husnapun jadilah raja dalam negeri itu terlalu saleh lagi mustajab barang doanya. Dan adalah adatnya memanggil segala orang yang sakit pada tiap-tiap hari jumat pada waktu lohor, maka segala orang sakit itupun datanglah bersembahkan sakitnya. Setelah sudah maka iapun berangkatlah akan sembahyang jumat. Maka tatkala selesailah ia daripada sembahyang, maka ia minta doa kepada Allah Taala, maka penyakit sekalian mereka itupun sembuhlah dengan berkat doanya. Hatta maka kabar itupun masyhurlah kepada tiap-tiap negeri. Maka sekalian orang sakitpun datanglah mengadukan hal kesakitannya. Maka dipintakan raja itu doa akan mereka itu kepada Allah subhanahu wa taala. Maka sekalian penyakit mereka itupun sembuhlah demikian adatnya.

Kata sahibulhikayat<sup>279</sup>: Bahwa tiap-tiap yang berbuat khianat akan Husna itu sekaliannya kena bala Allah. Dan suami Husnapun kembalilah daripada perlayaran lalu ia masuk ke rumahnya, maka didapatnya saudaranya ada duduk seorang dirinya jua tiada dilihatnya akan isterinya. Maka katanya, "Hai saudaraku, ke mana isteriku yang cahaya matak? Tiada kulihat akan dia dalam rumah ini, dan apa sebab matamu buta dan tanganmu kedal ini?" Maka sahutnya, "Hai saudara hamba, janganlah tuan sebut nama isteri tuanhamba, maka bahwasanya

326

<sup>278</sup> Inserted by conjecture; B follows A; C omits this section.

<sup>279</sup> Kata sahibulhikayat: C Kata Kaabu'l-Ahbari yang empunya ceritera.

ia berbuat zina peninggal tuanhamba. Maka hamba bawa akan dia kepada Kadi, maka dihukumkan dengan hukum rejam lalu matilah ia." Maka kata suami Husna, "Kautunjukkan kiranya kepadaku tempat kuburnya." Maka sahutnya, "Sudahlah dibuangkan orang, maka mayatnya dimakan anjing dan segala binatang yang buas-buas."

Demi didengar kata saudaranya demikian, maka iapun dukacitalah yang amat sangat serta katanya, "Hai saudaraku, ada bagiku arta yang amat banyak dan tiada ada bagiku orang yang patut beroleh dia hanyalah engkau. Mudah-mudahan Allah Taala menyembuhkan akan dikau daripada sakitmu, itulah belanjakan olehmu<sup>280</sup>." Setelah itu maka dipanggilnyalah beberapa tabib. Maka diobatinyalah akan dia dengan bagaimanapun obat sekalipun tiada memberi manfaat akan dia.

Maka ada setengah mereka itu memberi kabar ada kepada sebuah negeri itu<sup>281</sup> raja yang saleh, dan adalah raja itu amat mustajab doanya kepada Allah Taala. Maka tatkala itu ia hendak membawa saudaranya kepada raja itu. Maka terdengarlah kabarnya kepada orang tuha yang empat orang yang dikutuki Allah Taala akan mereka itu sebab jadi saksi dusta<sup>282</sup>. Maka datanglah keempatnya kepada suami Husna serta katanya, "Hai suami Husna, bahwa kami pun mau pergi bersama-sama dengan tuanhamba, mudah-mudahan disembuhkan Allah Taala penyakit kami ini." Maka suami Husnapun berjalanlah membawa saudaranya serta dengan mereka itu.

Hatta maka mereka itupun sampailah kepada negeri Badui yang

---

<sup>280</sup>belanjakan olehmu: B biayakanlah olehmu arta ini.

<sup>281</sup>Maka ada setengah mereka itu memberi kabar ada kepada sebuah negeri itu: B Maka kata mereka itu hai suami Husna tiadalah kami dapat mengobat saudara tuanhamba ini tetapi tuan bawa ia kepada sebuah negeri ada dalam negeri itu seorang; C Maka kata segala tabib hai suami Husna tiadalah kami dapat mengobat akan saudaramu tetapi baik tuan bawa ia kepada negeri anu karena.

<sup>282</sup>sebab jadi saksi dusta: B dengan kutuk yang amat sangat.

memeliharakan Husna itu. Maka dengan takdir Allah Taala, maka mereka itupun bertemu dengan dia dan adalah sahaya Badui itu kedal anjingan. Maka kata Badui itu, "Hendak ke mana tuan-tuan sekalian pergi?" Maka sahut mereka itu, "Bahwa kami hendak pergi kepada raja yang saleh lagi amat mustajab doanya, mudah-mudahan sembuh segala penyakit kami ini dengan berkat doanya." Maka kata Badui itu, "Jikalau demikian hamba mengikut bersama-sama membawa sahaya hamba ini."

Hatta maka mereka itu berjalanlah dari sana hingga kepada negeri laki-laki yang tersula itu. Dan adalah laki-laki itu sakit dengan sakit yang amat sangat. (Dan ada bagi laki-laki itu ibu bapak)<sup>283</sup>, maka tiada tahu ibu bapaknya apa jua obat anaknya itu. Maka dengan takdir Allah Taala, (maka laki-laki itupun)<sup>283</sup> bertemulah dengan mereka itu lalu bertanya akan hal ahual mereka itu. Maka kata mereka itu, "Hamba hendak pergi kepada raja yang saleh lagi kabul<sup>284</sup> segala doanya." Demi didengar kata mereka itu demikian maka katanya, "Jika demikian hamba pun pergilah bersama-sama dengan tuan sekalian, mudah-mudahan diafiatkan Allah Taala penyakit hamba ini dengan berkat doanya."

327

Hatta maka iapun berjalanlah dengan | sekalian mereka itu berapa hari lamanya di jalan, maka mereka itupun sampailah kepada raja yang saleh itu pada hari jumat. Maka sekalian mereka itupun dikenal Raja Husna, tetapi mereka itu tiada mengenal raja itu. Maka sembah saudagar suami Husna, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, barang dipohonkan syah alam kiranya kepada Allah Taala barang afiatlah (penyakit)<sup>285</sup> saudara diperhamba dan segala yang bersama-sama dengan diperhamba ini." Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Insya Allah Taala pada hari jumat yang lagi akan datang aku minta doa akan kamu sekalian."

Maka tatkala datanglah hari jumat yang kedua, maka mereka

---

<sup>283</sup> from B.

<sup>284</sup> B *mustajab*.

<sup>285</sup> from B and C.



itupun hadirlah akan mengadap Raja Husna hingga datanglah waktu. Maka Raja Husnapun berangkatlah ke masjid akan sembahyang jumat, maka mereka itupun masuklah ke masjid masing-masing duduk pada tempatnya. Maka Raja Husnapun naiklah ke atas mimbar membaca khotbah. Setelah sudah ia khotbah, maka sekalian jemaahpun<sup>286</sup> sembahyanglah. Setelah selesailah daripada sembahyang, maka sekalian mereka itupun bangkitlah mengadap Raja Husna.

Demi dilihat Raja Husna akan mereka itu, maka iapun naik pula ke atas mimbar. Maka berdatang sembahlah suami Husna, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, minta doa apakah kiranya syah alam akan saudara diperhamba ini." Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Bahkan, hai laki-laki, kasihkah engkau akan saudaramu ini?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, kasih diperhamba akan dia." Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Bahwasanya ia tiada kasih padamu." Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Hai laki-laki, ketahui olehmu bahwasanya Allah subhanahu wa taala tiada memberi mustajab akan doaku hingga kaukabarkan<sup>287</sup> daku apa sebab<sup>288</sup> maka dimurkai Allah Taala akan dia dengan penyakit ini. Jikalau diceriterakannya padaku dosanya dengan sebenarnya, kupohonkan kepada Allah Taala, niscaya disembuhkan Allah Taala daripada penyakitnya itu."

Maka kata suami Husna akan saudaranya, "Hai saudaraku, kau-persembahkanlah dosamu itu kepada syah alam dengan sebenarnya." Maka sahutnya, "Hai saudaraku, bahwasanya Allah Taala memurkai hamba ini karena isteri tuanhamba Husna jua. Tatkala tuanhamba berlayar, maka (tuan tinggalkan)<sup>289</sup> hamba melenggarakan hal ahualnya. Dan adalah tuanhamba lambat datang. Maka pada suatu hari datang hamba ke pintu tuanhamba, maka hamba seru akan isteri tuanhamba Husna, maka tiada disahuti akan hamba. Maka hamba berseru pula pada kedua kalinya dan tiga kalinya, seorang pun tiada menyahuti hamba. Maka hambapun naiklah ke rumah itu dari

<sup>286</sup> A *jemaahpun*. <sup>287</sup> B *kau ceriterai akan*; C *diceriteranya akan*.

<sup>288</sup> B and C *dosanya*. <sup>289</sup> from B; C *tinggal tuanhamba*.

328

tingkapnya. Maka hamba cari akan dia dalam segala bilik, tiada hamba dapat akan dia. Maka hamba masuk ke serambi belakang, maka hamba lihat ia mandi telanjang. Maka hairanlah hamba melihat elok parasnya. Maka hamba katalah akan dia dengan kata yang tiada patut. Maka tiada dikabulkannya kata hamba itu. Maka kata hamba akan dia, 'Jika tiada kau-kabulkan seperti kataku ini, niscaya kubunuh dikau dan kusiksa akan dikau dengan siksa yang amat sangat.' Maka sahutnya akan diperhamba, 'Kauperbuatlah barang kehendakmu, bahwasanya sekali-kali aku tiada mau khianat akan suamiku dan tiada aku mau berbuat durhaka akan Tuhan yang menjadikan daku. Nyahlah engkau dari sini, dan kaucarilah perempuan yang terlebih baik daripadaku.'

Demi hamba dengar sahutnya demikian, maka hambapun keluarlah dari rumah itu. Maka hamba panggil beberapa orang perempuan penjaruman, hamba beri akan dia beberapa arta, hamba suruh cari perempuan yang seperti rupa Husna. Maka sekalian mereka itupun pergi mencari perempuan bagi hamba kehendaki itu hingga beberapa lamanya, tiada jua diperolehnya. Maka ketika tengah malam hamba datang pula akan dia, maka kata hamba, 'Hai Husna, bahwasanya telah sudahlah hamba suruh orang mencari berapa hari lamanya tiada diperolehnya yang seperti rupa kamu.' Maka sahut Husna akan hamba seperti sahutnya yang dahulu jua, maka hambapun keluarlah dari rumah itu serta diharu syaitanlah hati hamba. Lalu hamba panggil orang empat laki-laki yang tuha, maka hamba perjamulah mereka itu makan dan minum dan hamba persalin akan dia serta hamba beri akan mereka itu beberapa dinar.

Maka tatkala hendak kembali mereka itu, maka kata hamba, 'Hai tuan-tuan, bahwa ada suatu hajat hamba kepada tuan-tuan.' Maka sahut mereka itu akan hamba, 'Hai orang muda, apa hajat tuanhamba kepada kami ini? Katakanlah supaya kami sampaikan hajat tuanhamba itu.' Maka kata hamba, 'Jikalau demikian marilah tuanhamba serta hamba kepada Kadi.' Hatta maka mereka itupun berjalanlah serta hamba kepada Kadi, maka hamba sembahkan isteri tuanhamba Husna itu berzina. Maka naik saksilah mereka itu atas kata hamba

dengan dustanya. Demi didengar Kadi kata saksi itu maka isteri tuanhambapun disuruhnya rejam, lalu matilah ia. Hai saudara hamba, inilah dosa hamba perbuat. Maka pada ketika itulah dimurkai Allah Taala akan hamba hingga sampai pada ketika masa ini."

Maka adalah tatkala ia berhikayat kepada saudaranya itu, Raja Husnapun menengar dia. Maka sembah suami Husna, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahwa dosanya itu telah maklumlah kepada syah alam, sekarangpun barang dipohonkan syah alamlah kiranya kepada Allah Taala, mudah-mudahan disembuhkan Allah Taala penyakitnya ini dengan berkat doa syah alam." Maka Raja Husnapun minta doa akan dia doanya yang afiat, maka dikembalikan Allah kepada sehatnya seperti<sup>290</sup> yang dahulu. Demi dilihat suami Husna bahwa penyakit saudaranya itu telah sembuhlah, maka iapun mempersembahkan beberapa arta. Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Hai saudagar, akan apa gunaku artamu ini?" Maka arta itupun dikembalikan Raja Husna akan dia.

329

Hatta maka orang tuha yang empat itupun berdatang sembah, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahwa diperhamba mengadap ke bawah |duli syah alam barang dipohonkan syah alam kiranya mudah-mudahan disembuhkan Allah Taala penyakit kami yang diperhamba sekalian ini dengan berkat doa syah alam." Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Betapa hal kamu?" Maka sembah mereka itu, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, adalah hal yang diperhamba sejahat-jahat hal." Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Kamu ikrarkanlah dosamu itu kepadaku supaya kupohonkan kepada Allah Taala akan kamu afiat."

Maka sembah sekalian mereka itu, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, telah adalah yang diperhamba naik saksi kepada Kadi dengan dusta kami atas seorang perempuan bernama Husna yang dipersembahkan laki-laki ini kepada syah alam. Maka tatkala didengar Kadi kata diperhamba, maka perempuan itupun disuruh Kadi rejam. Maka diperhamba rejamah akan dia. Setelah ia mati, maka

<sup>290</sup> B adds *adat*; C adds *adatnya*.

diperhamba buangkan kepada kubur orang banyak. Hatta maka yang diperhambapun kembalilah masing-masing ke rumah kami, pada hari itulah kami yang diperhamba dimurkai Allah Taala hingga datang sekarang ini."

Maka Raja Husnapun bersabda kepada suaminya, "Hai saudagar, kaumaafkankah dosa orang yang menganiaya isterimu itu?" Maka sembah suami Husna, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, diperhamba maafkan dosa mereka itu, dan sabarlah diperhamba akan kada Allah Taala barang dipohonkan syah alam kiranya kepada Allah Taala akan mereka itu afiat." Maka Raja Husnapun minta doalah akan mereka itu dengan afiat. Maka penyakit mereka itupun afiat dengan berdoanya.

Kemudian dari itu maka berdatang sembah pula Badui, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahwa diperhamba mengadap syah alam karena sahaya diperhamba ini kena penyakit barang dipohonkan syah alam kiranya kepada Allah Taala akan dia afiat." Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Hai sahaya Habsyi, ikrarkanlah dosamu kepadaku, mudah-mudahan diafiatkan Allah Taala akan dikau." Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahwa tuan diperhamba ini telah didapatnya seorang perempuan terbuang pada tempat kubur orang banyak. Maka dibawa tuan yang diperhamba ke rumahnya, maka adalah ia dalam rumah tuan yang diperhamba berapa lamanya.

Maka pada suatu hari yang diperhamba masuk ke rumah, diperhamba lihat terlalu elok parasnya. Maka lekatlah hati diperhamba hendak akan dia. Maka kata diperhamba akan dia, 'Hai perempuan, jika tiada kaukabulkan kehendakku ini, niscaya kufadihatkanlah engkau dengan fadihat yang amat besar.' Maka pada suatu malam diwaswasakan syaitanlah dalam hati yang diperhamba, maka diperhamba naik ke rumah tuan diperhamba kepada tempat tidur perempuan itu. Maka diperhamba lihat akan dia sedang tidur dengan anak tuan yang diperhamba<sup>291</sup>. Maka diperhamba ambil sekin, lalu diperhamba

---

<sup>291</sup> dengan anak tuan yang diperhamba: B dan anak tuan yang diperhamba pun ada tidur di sisinya.

330

sembelih anak tuan yang diperhamba dan darahnya diperhamba bubuh pada tubuh perempuan itu, pada hal dalam tidurnya jua tiada diketahui perbuatan yang diperhamba demikian itu. Maka diperhamba hantarkan sekin itu di bawah | bantalnya. Ya tuanku, syah alam, dari karena itulah dimurkai Allah Taala akan yang diperhamba."

Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Hai laki-laki, kaumaafkankah dosa sahayamu?" Maka sembah Badui, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, diperhamba maafkanlah dosanya itu. Barang dipohonkan syah alam kiranya ke hadirat Allah Taala akan sahaya ini supaya ia sembuh." Maka Raja Husnapun minta doa ke hadirat Allah Taala, maka sahaya itupun sembuhlah seperti lama. Maka dipersembahkan Badui itu beberapa arta, maka tiada diambil Raja Husna.

Kemudian dari itu maka berdatang sembah pula seorang laki-laki, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, barang dipohonkan kiranya akan diperhamba ke hadirat Allah Taala supaya yang diperhamba aflat dengan berkat syah alam." Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Hai laki-laki, apa dosamu? Kauikrarkanlah supaya diaflatkan Allah Taala akan dikau." Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, pada suatu hari duduk diperhamba dalam rumah diperhamba, tiba-tiba datang seorang penyuruh raja negeri diperhamba. Maka dijabatnya tangan diperhamba, lalu diikatnya. Maka kata diperhamba akan dia, 'Hai hamba Allah, mengapa aku kamu ikat?' Maka sahutnya, 'Mengapa tiada kau-beri arta raja, sebab inilah maka kuikat<sup>292</sup> akan dikau.' Maka diperhambapun dibawanya berjalan bersama-sama dengan dia kepada raja.

Setelah sampailah hamba kepada raja, maka dititahkan raja sula akan diperhamba. Maka disula oranglah diperhamba di sisi jalan raya. Tiba-tiba berjalan seorang perempuan, tatkala sampailah ia ke sulaan diperhamba, maka ia bertanya kepada orang yang menyula diperhamba, 'Apa dosanya laki-laki

---

<sup>292</sup>  
B *kusakit*.

ini disula?' Maka sahut mereka itu, 'Sebab ada padanya arta raja.' Maka kata perempuan itu, 'Berapa arta raja itu dengan dia?' Maka sahutnya mereka itu, 'Empat ratus dinar.' Maka katanya, 'Lepaskanlah laki-laki ini daripada sulaannya.' Serta diberinya dinar empat ratus. Maka iapun berjalanlah. Maka diperhambapun dilepaskan oranglah daripada berkatnya.

Maka tatkala diturunkan oranglah diperhamba daripada sulaan, maka diperhambapun bertanya kepada segala mereka itu, 'Siapa yang melepaskan hamba daripada sulaan ini dan siapa yang berbuat kebajikan akan hamba?' Maka sahut mereka itu, 'Perempuan yang berjalan itulah melepaskan dikau.' Maka diperhamba ikutlah akan dia, maka kata diperhamba, 'Berhentilah kiranya tuanhamba.' Maka iapun berhentilah, maka kata diperhamba akan dia, 'Tuan beri izin apalah kiranya hamba mengikut tuan supaya hamba berbuat khidmat akan tuanhamba supaya hamba balas kebajikan tuan akan hamba.' Maka sahutnya akan diperhamba, 'Tiadalah hamba berkehendak akan diikut dan khidmat tuanhamba.' Maka disuruhnya kembali hamba serta katanya akan diperhamba, 'Kembalilah tuan jangan tiada tuan berbuat ibadat akan Allah Taala.'

331 Hatta maka iapun berjalanlah, maka diperhamba ikut pula di belakangnya diperhamba lihat terlalu elok parasnya. Maka diperhambapun berahilah akan dia. Maka kata diperhamba akan dia, 'Hai perempuan, maukah | tuanhamba nikah<sup>293</sup> dengan hamba?' Maka sahutnya, 'Bahwasanya suami hamba ada lagi hidup, betapa hamba kahwin dengan tuan?' Maka kata diperhamba, 'Jikalau tiada engkau mau kahwin dengan aku, niscaya kusakiti akan dikau dengan kesakitan yang amat sangat.'

Demi didengarnya kata yang diperhamba demikian, maka iapun berjalanlah. Maka diperhamba ikut jua akan dia hingga sampai ke tepi laut. Maka diperhamba lihat ada sebuah perahu<sup>294</sup> berlayar, maka diperhamba lambailah perahu<sup>294</sup> itu serta kata diperhamba, 'Siapa punya perahu<sup>294</sup> ini?'

---

<sup>293</sup><sub>B</sub> kahwin.      <sup>294</sup><sub>B</sub> bahtera.

Maka sahutnya, /<sup>295</sup> 'Hambalah empunya perahu<sup>296</sup> ini.' Maka diperhamba jualkanlah perempuan itu pada orang itu dengan harga empat ratus dinar." Maka sembah laki-laki, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, inilah perbuatan diperhamba, sebab itulah maka diperhamba kena bala Allah ini."

Maka sabda Raja Husna akan suaminya, "Hai saudagar, bahwa perempuan yang dikata laki-laki ini isterimu, kaumaafkankah orang yang khianat akan isterimu itu?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, sabarlah<sup>297</sup> diperhamba pada barang yang diuntungkan Allah subhanahu wa taala. Minta doalah syah alam ke hadirat Allah Taala supaya ia afiat." Maka Raja Husnapun minta doa, maka iapun afiat seperti adanya.

Kemudian maka berdatang sembahlah suaminya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, diperhamba sekalian mohon kembali." Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Bismillah kembalilah kamu sekalian melainkan engkau jua jangan kembali bersama-sama dengan mereka itu." Maka sembahnya, "Apa sebabnya maka diperhamba tiada dianugerahai izin kembali?" Maka sabda Raja Husna, "Ada suatu hajarku kepadamu." Hatta maka sekalian mereka itupun kembalilah dengan percintaannya sebab tiada ditahan akan dia. Setelah itu maka Raja Husnapun berangkatlah ke istananya dan suaminya pun dibawanya bersama-sama hingga masuklah ia ke istananya. Maka suaminya pun dititahkan mandi, maka dimandikan oranglah.

Setelah selesai ia daripada mandi, maka dianugerahainya akan dia persalin yang indah-indah. Maka dipakainyalah persalinan itu. Maka dititahkan oranglah mengangkat hidangan daripada makan-makanan, maka itupun<sup>298</sup> diangkatlah, maka iapun makanlah. Maka tatkala selesailah ia daripada makan, maka dititahkan Husnalah ia masuk ke istana, maka suaminya pun masuklah serta pikir dalam hatinya<sup>299</sup>. Dan tatkala itu Raja Husna semayam di atas kursinya dan

---

<sup>295</sup> / ia.    <sup>296</sup> B bahtera.    <sup>297</sup> B kabullah.    <sup>298</sup> A iapun.

<sup>299</sup> masuklah serta pikir dalam hatinya: B pikir dalam hatinya lalu masuklah ia.

didudukkannya suaminya pada suatu kursi berhadapan dengan dia. Maka ditanyai akan suaminya, "Hai laki-laki, tuan kenalkah isteri tuan yang bernama Husna itu?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahwasanya isteri diperhamba itu sudahlah mati berapa lamanya," serta ia menangis karena terlalu sangat kasihnya dan sayangnya akan dia.

Maka kata Raja Husna, "*Al-hand li-'llāh al-ladhī a<sup>c</sup>tānī thumma akhadhat minnī, inna li-'llāhi wa-'inna ilayhi rājī<sup>c</sup>una.*"

332

Artinya: Segala puji bagi Allah yang mengaruniai daku suami, maka dicarikannya<sup>300</sup> daripadaku. | Bahwasanya Allah jua yang memilikkan kami dan kepada hadirat-Nya jua kami kembali. Setelah itu maka Raja Husnapun menitahkan orang melabuhkan tirai, maka tiraipun dilabuhkan oranglah. Maka iapun menanggalkan pakaian yang cara laki-laki. Maka kelihatanlah rupanya terlalu elok seperti bulan purnama. Maka tatkala dilihat suaminya akan dia, maka dikenalnya. Maka kata suaminya akan dia, "Bahwasanya tuanhambalah isteri hamba." Maka sahutnya, "Bahkan, hambalah isteri tuan dan tuanlah suami hamba. Bagi Allah jua segala puji-pujian yang bertemukan<sup>301</sup> hamba dengan tuan."

Tatkala itu hendaklah hampir suaminya kepadanya, maka katanya, "Tuan nanti kiranya sesaat hamba sembahyang dua rakaat." Maka sembah suaminya, "Baiklah." Maka iapun mengambil air sembahyang lalu sembahyang dua rakaat satu salam dengan tulus ikhlas hatinya akan Allah Taala. Setelah selesailah ia daripada sembahyang maka iapun sujudlah serta katanya dalam sujudnya, "Ya Ilahi wa sayidi wa maulaya, tuan ambil kiranya nyawa hamba-Mu dahulu daripada disentuh suamiku akan daku."

Maka firman Allah Taala akan malikulmaut, "Hai malikulmaut, kavambil nyawa hamba-Ku Husna itu dalam sujudnya." Maka

<sup>300</sup> from C which is confirmed by the Arabic; A and B have *dijadiakannya*.

<sup>301</sup> A *mertemukan* (?); B *bertemukan*; C *temukan*.



malikulmautpun pergilah mengambil nyawanya, maka tatkala diambil malikulmaut nyawanya tiada diketahui suaminya akan isterinya sudah mati. Maka dinantinya jua. Tatkala lambatlah ia bangkit daripada sujudnya, maka suaminyaapun hampir kepadanya. Maka dilihatnya sudahlah mati<sup>302</sup> dalam sujudnya. Maka suaminyaapun hairanlah dengan dukacitanya, lalu ia mengherik dengan herik yang amat sangat serta tangisnya daripada sangat sayangnya akan isterinya.

Maka kedengaranlah kabar itu kepada segala isi negeri, maka segala isi negeri itupun datanglah lalu masuk mereka itu ke dalam istana serta kata segala mereka itu, "Apa jua percintaan tuan sekalian menangis?" Maka sahutlah isi istana, "Betapa aku tiada menangis? Bahwanya raja kita telah kembali ke rahmat Allah." Demi didengar kabar mereka itu, maka sekalian mereka itu menangis serta dengan heriknya sebab sangat sayangnya akan rajanya daripada sangat waraknya dan keramatnya. Maka kata sekalian mereka itu, "Segala puji-pujian bagi Allah Taala yang mengambil raja kami yang saleh lagi abid."

Setelah itu maka jasad Raja Husnapun dimandikan oranglah sekali dengan air dan sekali lagi dengan air mawar dan ketiga kalinya dengan kasturi dan kapur. Maka dikafani oranglah serta dihamburkan oranglah pada kafan itu daripada bau-bauhan. Maka jenazah Raja Husnapun ditanggung oranglah kepada kuburnya, serta mereka itu mengucapkan takbir dan tahlil dan tamhid. Maka ditanamkan oranglah akan dia, serta didekahkan mereka itu akan segala fakir arta yang amat banyak.

333

Hatta maka sekalian manusiapun berhimpunlah ke maligai, maka dirajakan mereka itulah anak raja yang dahulu itu. Maka (suami Husna)<sup>303</sup> jadilah ia seperti laku orang gila daripada sangat kasihnya akan isterinya. Maka diketahui segala manusialah bahwa ia suami Raja Husna. Berapa lamanya ia menunggu kubur isterinya, maka iapun kembalilah ke negerinya dalam hal dukacitanya. Dan pada suatu riwayat bahwa suami Raja Husna

<sup>302</sup> B ia ke rahmat Allah.

<sup>303</sup> from C.

itu mati pada kubur isterinya jua daripada sangat kasih sayangnya akan dia.

- (i) Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala perempuan yang budiman: Bahwa mengambil insaf dan ibarat daripada menengarkan hikayat ini. Dan meneguhkan setianya pada suaminya hubaya-hubaya jangan ia berbuat khianat akan dia supaya diperoleh kesempurnaan iman lagi dianugerahai Allah Taala akan dia martabat aulia Allah<sup>304</sup>.

## Story 29

Kata sahibulhikayat:

Sekali perisetua pada suatu hari turun wahyu kepada Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam) demikian bunyinya, "Hai Isa, pergilah engkau kepada negeri yang bernama Sur. maka ceriterai olehmu akan segala isi negeri itu dan kaubawai mereka itu membawa iman." Maka sembah Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam), "Ya sayidi wa maulaya<sup>305</sup>, Engkau jua Tuhan yang mahatinggi lagi yang amat mengetahui daripada hamba-Mu." Maka befirman Allah Taala, "Hai Isa, sebenarnya katamu itu tetapi pergi jua engkau bahwasanya ada dalam negeri itu /<sup>306</sup> (dua)<sup>307</sup> kaum, yaitu (suatu kaum daripada)<sup>307</sup> isi surga dan suatu kaum daripada isi neraka. Pergilah engkau kepada mereka itu dan kaubawai mereka itu membawa iman."

Hatta maka Nabi Allah Isapun pergilah hingga sampailah ia kepada negeri Sur itu. Bahwa ada negeri itu dua pintunya, suatu pintu kepada pihak laut dan suatu pintu pihak darat.

---

<sup>304</sup>C adds a short *hadith* and gives the translation as *Sebaik janji itu daripada iman*.

<sup>305</sup>*Ya sayidi wa maulaya*: B *Ya Ilahi ya sayidi wa maulaya*; C *Ya Tuhanku dan yang menilik akan nyawaku hamba-Mu dan yang menolong akan daku*.

<sup>306</sup>/ daripada. <sup>307</sup>from B and C.

Maka Nabi Allah Isapun datanglah kepada pintunya yang sebelah laut<sup>308</sup>. Maka Nabi Allah Isapun bertemu dengan seorang perempuan tuha membasuh kainnya lalu Nabi Allah Isa memberi salam kepadanya. Maka dipandangnya kepada Nabi Allah Isa serta katanya, "Selama umurku tiada kudengar seperti katamu." Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai orang tuha, lagi kamu betapa jua adat salam kamu?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahwa ada kami salam kami: *Hayyāk al-lāt wa 'l-<sup>C</sup>uzzā wa-hubal al-a<sup>C</sup>alā*. (Artinya: Barang disejahterakan berhala yang bernama Lat dan Uzza dan Hubal al-ala akan dikau.) Tetapi hai orang muda, tiada pernah kulihat seorang jua pun terelok rupanya daripadamu. Siapa engkau dan dari mana datangmu dan ke mana kehendakmu?"

334

Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Bahwa aku seorang daripada pesuruh Tuhan seru alam sekalian." Maka sahut orang tuha itu, "Hai orang muda, jikalau dilihatnya engkau oleh raja kami, niscaya dimurkai akan dikau dan akan daku." Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam), "Hai perempuan tuha, sekali-kali tiada dapat dimurkai raja kamu atasku." Maka Nabi Allah Isapun menilik ke bumi serta diambalnya segumpal daripada tanah yang basah. Maka diperbuatnya tanah itu seperti rupa unggas. Maka dihantarkannya atas tapak tangannya serta ia bersabda, "Hai unggas, terbanglah engkau dengan izin Allah Taala." Maka unggas itupun terbanglah.

Demi dilihat perempuan tuha hal nabi Allah demikian, maka katanya, "Hai orang muda, sahirkah engkau atau orang dustakah atau orang yang bertenungkah engkau?" Maka sahut Nabi Allah Isa, "Tiada aku sahir dan tiada aku orang dusta dan tiada aku orang bertenung tetapi aku seorang pesuruh Rabbul-alamin." Maka kata perempuan tuha itu, "Hai laki-laki, bahwasanya ada bagiku seorang anak seperti daging segumpal tiada berkaki tangan dan bibir dan mata dan telinga dan kening dan lidah dan kepala dan hidung. Jika

---

<sup>308</sup> pintunya yang sebelah laut: B pintunya yang arah ke laut; C pintu pihak laut.

dapat kaujadikan anakku itu seperti rupa manusia, maka bahwasanya aku ketahuilah Tuhanmu itu Tuhan yang sebenarnya dan percayalah aku bahwasanya engkau pesuruh Allah Rabbul-alamín lagi benar." Maka sahut Nabi Allah Isa, "Bahkan, insya Allah Taala, di mana sekarang anakmu itu." Maka sahutnya, "Ada ia dalam rumahku, marilah engkau sertaku kepadanya."

Hatta maka Nabi Allah Isapun pergilah certa dengan orang tuha itu, lalu masuklah keduanya ke dalam pintu negeri itu. Maka ada pada pintu itu sebuah rumah berhala, ada dalamnya itu kira-kira empat puluh berhala. Maka tatkala Nabi Allah Isa masuk ke rumah itu, maka segala berhala itupun sujud karena melihat hebat Nabi Allah Isa. Maka orang tuha itupun masuklah ke rumah berhala itu, lalu ia sujud akan segala berhala itu. Maka tatkala dilihat Nabi Allah Isa halnya demikian itu, maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai orang tuha, jangan kauperbuat seperti perbuatanmu itu, sebut olehmu: *Ashhadu 'an lā ilāh illā 'llāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu wa-anna 'isā ruh 'llāh.*" Maka segala berhala itupun habislah tersungkur sekaliannya. Maka kata orang yang <sup>309</sup> (mengawali) <sup>310</sup> pintu itu, "Sanya telah masuklah ke dalam negeri itu seorang laki-laki Islam daripada kaum bani Israil bernama Isa, ialah yang amat sabir lagi dusta."

Hatta maka Nabi Allah Isapun sampailah ke rumah perempuan tuha itu, lalu duduklah Nabi Allah Isa di rumahnya. Maka orang tuha itupun menghantarkan anaknya ke hadapan Nabi Allah Isa, maka Nabi Allah Isapun mengambil rumalnya, lalu ditutupkannya ke atas anak orang tuha yang seperti daging segumpal itu. Maka dipalu Nabi Allah Isa dengan tongkatnya serta bersabda ia, "Hai kanak-kanak, jadilah engkau hidup yang sempurna, demi sebenar Tuhan yang berfirman akan sesuatu: *Kun fa-yakūnu* <sup>311</sup>." Maka kanak-kanak itupun

<sup>309</sup> / *manghawāni*; B follows A. <sup>310</sup> from C.

<sup>311</sup> The words which God used when He created the world; C adds a translation Artinya, *hidup jadi engkau niscaya tiba-tiba jadilah.*

335 bangkit, lalu berdiri dengan kedua kakinya dan melihat dengan kedua matanya, serta katanya, "*Ashhadu 'an lā ilāh illā 'llāh | waḥdahū lā sharīk lahu wa-anna 'īsā ruh 'llāh.*"

Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai perempuan tuha, kusuruhkanlah anakmu ini kepada raja dan kata olehmu kepadanya dengan kata yang sebenarnya yaitu, *lā ilāh illā 'llāh wa-anna 'īsā ruh 'llāh.*" Maka pergilah kanak-kanak itu. Tatkala sampailah ia ke pintu raja, maka didengarnya suara orang berseru-seru demikian bunyinya, "Barang siapa membawa Isa kepadaku dengan hal<sup>312</sup> kehinaan, kukawinkanlah ia dengan anakku dan kuberi akan dia setengah kerajaanku dan kujadikan ia pada masa hidupku akan menteriku dan kemudian daripada matiku akan ganti naik pada kerajaanku."

Maka tatkala didengar kanak-kanak itu kata yang demikian itu, lalu kembalilah ia kepada ibunya serta katanya, "Hai ibuku, ada suatu warta kebajikan karena Isa dalam rumah kita." Maka sahut perempuan tuha (itu)<sup>313</sup>, "Hai anakku, apa warta yang kebajikan itu?" Maka katanya, "Kudengar crang berseru-seru di pintu raja demikian bunyinya: Barang siapa membawa Isa dengan hal kehinaannya kepada raja, maka dikawinkan ia dengan anaknya dan dijadikannya ia akan menteriku pada masa hidupnya dan dijadikannya ia raja kemudian daripada matinya<sup>314</sup>."

Maka tatkala didengar ibunya kata anaknya demikian, maka jadi sukacitalah ia dengan sukacita yang amat sangat. Maka kanak-kanak itu mengambil kudanya lalu dikenderainya. Maka tatkala ia hendak mengerjakan pekerjaan itu, maka Nabi Allah Isa menilik kepadanya serta ia bersabda, "Hai kanak-kanak, engkaukah yang hendak berbuat yang demikian itu? Dikutuki<sup>315</sup>

---

<sup>312</sup>A and B *jalan*; C gives *halnya*, the word used later in the narrative by A. <sup>313</sup>from B and C.

<sup>314</sup>C omits the last sentence and has *Maka diperkabar kanak-kanak itu kepada ibunya akan berseru-seru raja.* <sup>315</sup>from C; A and B have *diketakuti* but a form of the word *kutuk* seems more appropriate in light of the use of the word *serapa* later in the narrative.

olehmu Allah Taala, jadilah engkau segumpal daging seperti dahulu." Maka tatkala sudah diserapai Nabi Allah Isa akan dia demikian, maka iapun jadilah segumpal daging seperti adanya dahulu itu.

Maka tatkala dilihat orang tuha itu hal anaknya demikian, maka sembahnya, "Ya nabi Allah, bahwa ampun tuanhamba terlebih besar daripada dosa kami<sup>316</sup>." Maka Nabi Allah Isapun melotarkan rumalnya ke atas daging segumpal itu, maka dipalunya dengan tongkatnya serta katanya, "Hai kanak-kanak, jadilah engkau hidup dengan sempurna demi Dipertuhan yang befirman akan tiap-tiap sesuatu: *Kun fa-yakūnu*." Maka kanak-kanak itupun bangkitlah, lalu ia berdiri serta katanya, "*Lā ilāh illā 'llāh wa-annaka 'īsā ruh 'llāh*."

Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai kanak-kanak, pergilah engkau kepada rajamu pada ketika ini jua, dan kaubawa ia membawa iman." Maka kanak-kanak itupun pergilah, lalu ia berdiri di hadapan raja itu serta katanya, "Hai raja, bahwa yang menyuruhkan daku kepadamu ini pesuruh Tuhan seru alam sekalian. Kata olehmu kata yang sebenarnya yaitu: *Lā ilāh illā 'llāh wa-anna 'īsā ruh 'llāh*." Dan adalah pada ketika itu tiga ratus enam puluh berhala berhatur di hadapan raja itu. Demi didengarnya kanak-kanak itu mengucap demikian  
336 | maka tatkala itu berhalapun berebahanlah<sup>317</sup>. Maka raja pun rebah lalu pingsan.

Maka tatkala ia nyedarlah daripada pingsannya, maka ia /<sup>318</sup> bersabda kepada segala hulubalanganya, "Siapa jua ada seorang daripada kamu yang dapat membunuh kanak-kanak ini?" Maka bangkit seorang laki-laki daripada keluarga raja itu, lalu ia mengambil pedangnya serta dipenggalnya lehernya, maka disuruhnya buang ke luar kota.

Demi didengar orang tuha kabar anaknya telah dibunuh raja itu, maka iapun segera pergi mengadap Nabi Allah Isa

---

<sup>316</sup> C anak hamba.    <sup>317</sup> B bersungkuranlah; C tersungkur.    <sup>318</sup> / ia.

mengadukan hal ahwal anaknya itu. Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai orang tuha, di mana sekarang kepala dan badan anakmu itu? Kaubawa kepadaku." Maka orang tuha itupun pergilah mengambil kepala dan badan anaknya itu, lalu dibawanya kepada Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam). Maka nabi Allahpun melotarkan rumahnya ke atas kepala dan badan kanak-kanak itu, maka dipalunya dengan tongkatnya serta ia bersabda, "Hai kanak-kanak, jadilah engkau hidup yang sempurna demi sebenar-benar Tuhan yang befirman akan tiap-tiap sesuatu: *Kun fa-yakūnu.*"

Hatta maka kanak-kanak itupun bangkit lalu menilik ia serta katanya, "*Lā ilāh illā 'llāh wa-annaka 'īsā ruh 'llāh.*" Maka berdatang sembah kanak-kanak itu, "Ya nabi Allah, tuan titahkanlah hamba pergi kepada raja itu sekali lagi terlalu sekali manis maut ini lagi lezat." Maka sabda nabi Allah, "Hai kanak-kanak, pergilah engkau, jangan engkau takut bahwa Allah Taala ada sertamu." Maka kanak-kanak itupun pergi, lalu ia berdiri di hadapan raja itu.

Demi dilihat raja akan dia, maka katanya, "Hai kanak-kanak, bukankah sekarang ini jua engkau kubunuh dan kupenggal kepalamu dan kubuangkan mayatmu ke luar kota?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahkan." Maka kata raja itu, "Betapa pula sekarang engkau hidup?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahwa yang menghidupkan daku itu Tuhan yang menjadikan daku dan yang menjadikan dikau, lagi yang menganugerahai akan daku rezeki dan akan dikau, yaitu Tuhan yang amat kuasa mematikan daku dan dikau dan yang menghidupkan daku dan dikau." Maka berkata pula kanak-kanak itu, "Hai raja, kahwinkan olehmu aku dengan anakmu perempuan itu dan kauberi akan daku setengah kerajaanmu dan kaujadikan aku pada masa hidupmu wazirmu dan kemudian daripada matimu gantimu kerajaan. Dan kata olehmu kata yang sebenarnya yaitu: *Lā ilāh illā 'llāh wa-anna 'īsā ruh 'llāh.*"

Demi didengar segala berhala kata itu, rebahlah ia sekalian dan raja itu pun rebah lalu pingsan. Maka tatkala nyedarlah ia daripada pingsannya, maka iapun bersabda kepada menteri-nya, "Siapa jua seorang daripadamu yang dapat membunuh

kanak-kanak ini?" Maka tatkala itu bangkit pula seorang daripada keluarganya, lalu ia mengambil akan pedangnya, maka dipenggalnya akan kanak-kanak itu dengan tujuh penggal. Maka diberinya dagingnya dimakan segala binatang yang buas.

337

Demi di-<sup>1</sup>dengar perempuan tuha itu bahwa anaknya telah di-bunuh raja, maka iapun segera pergi mengadap Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam) dan dipersembahkannya hal anaknya itu kepada nabi Allah. Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai perempuan tuha<sup>319</sup>, sanya telah diharamkan Allah Taala daging anakmu itu atas segala binatang yang buas. Pergilah engkau, bawa olehmu daging anakmu itu kepadaku." Maka sembah perempuan tuha itu, "Ya nabi Allah, di mana ada daging anak yang diperhamba itu karena dagingnya telah dimakannya?" Maka Nabi Allah Isa bersabda, "Hai perempuan tuha, pergilah engkau kepada segala binatang yang buas-buas itu, katakan olehmu kepada mereka itu: Hai segala binatang, bahwa yang menyuruhkan daku kepadamu itu pesuruh Rabbul-alamina karena (minta)<sup>320</sup> daging anakku yang telah kaumakan itu."

Hatta maka perempuan itupun pergilah kepadanya serta katanya, "(Hai segala binatang, bahwa yang menyuruhkan daku kepadamu ini pesuruh Rabbul-alamina)<sup>321</sup>, beri olehmu daging anakku yang telah kaumakan itu akan daku." Maka dengan takdir Allah Taala, maka segala binatang itupun menyahut dengan izin Allah, "Bahwa kami junjunglah titah Allah dan /<sup>322</sup>ikutlah sabda Rasul Allah." Maka daging anak perempuan tuha itupun diberikannya lah kepadanya.

Maka iapun kembalilah dengan membawa daging anaknya kepada Nabi Allah Isa, lalu dihantarkannya lah kepadanya yakni kepada nabi Allah. Maka nabi Allahpun mengambil rumalnya,

---

<sup>319</sup> A tua.      <sup>320</sup> from C.

<sup>321</sup> from B; C *Hai segala binatang bahwa menyuruhkan daku kepada kamu ini ialah pesuruh Rabbul-alamina.*

<sup>322</sup> / kau.



lalu ditutupkannya ke atas daging itu. Maka dipalunya dengan tongkatnya serta ia bersabda, "Hai kanak-kanak, jadilah engkau hidup yang sempurna dengan izin Allah." Maka kanak-kanak itupun bangkitlah berdiri serta katanya, "*Ashhadu 'an lā ilāh illā 'llāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu wa-anna 'īsā ruh 'llāh.*" Maka sembahnya, "Ya nabi Allah, tuan titahkanlah hamba pergi kepada raja itu pada tiga kalinya pergi lagi ajaib sekali manisnya maut itu dan lezatnya." Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai kanak-kanak, pergilah engkau, jangan takut bahwa Allah Taala ada sertamu."

Maka kanak-kanak itupun pergilah hingga sampailah ia lalu masuk ia berdiri di hadapan raja. Maka sabda raja, "Hai kanak-kanak, bukankah sekarang ini jua telah kubunuh akan dikau dan kuberikan dagingmu itu dimakan segala binatang yang buas-buas?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahkan." Maka sabda raja, "Betapa halmu hidup<sup>323</sup>?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahwa yang menghidupkan daku itu Tuhan yang menjadikan daku dan dikau dan yang menganugerahai rezeki daku dan dikau, Ia jua Tuhan yang amat kuasa mematikan daku dan dikau." Maka berkata pula kanak-kanak itu, "Hai raja, sebut olehmu kata yang sebenarnya yaitu: *lā ilāh illā 'llāh wa-anna 'īsā ruh 'llāh.*"

338

Demi didengar raja dan segala berhala kata yang demikian, maka raja itu rebah lalu pingsau dan segala berhala pun rebahlah. Maka tatkala nyedar raja itu daripada pingsannya itu serta bersabda kepada segala hulubalanganya, "Siapa jua dalam antara kamu itu dapat membunuh kanak-kanak ini?" Tatkala itu maka bangkit seorang laki-laki<sup>324</sup> daripada keluarganya, maka disuruhnya himpulkan kayu api sekira-kira empat puluh hari lamanya. Maka apipun dinyalakan orang, lalu dibunuhnyalah akan dia. Maka kanak-kanak itu dicincangnyalah<sup>325</sup> segala dagingnya, maka dibuangkannya

<sup>323</sup>Betapa halmu hidup: B Betapa pula engkau hidup; C Betapa perinya engkau jadi hidup ini.

<sup>324</sup>seorang laki-laki: A seorang-orang laki. <sup>325</sup>A dicincungnyalah.

ke dalam (api)<sup>326</sup> hingga habislah segala daging dan tulang itu jadi habu. Maka diambilnya segala habu itu dibahagi tiga, sebahagi dibuangkannya pada suatu pihak, dan yang sebahagi dibuangkannya ke atas bukit, dan yang sebahagi dibuangkannya ke dalam laut.

Demi didengarnya perempuan tuha itu kabar anaknya demikian, maka iapun segera pergi mengadap Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam) serta sembahnya, "Ya nabi Allah, bahwa anak hamba daging segumpal dan biji mata hamba itu sekarang tiadalah ada dalam bumi ini, dagingnya dan darahnya dan habunya." Demi didengar Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam) sembahnya demikian, maka Nabi Allah Isapun keluarlah pergi ke tepi laut lalu mengambil air sembahyang. Maka nabi Allahpun sembahyang dua rakaat satu salam serta minta doa kepada Allah Taala. Maka dititahkan Allah Taala malaikat yang /<sup>327</sup> (mengawali)<sup>328</sup> angin menghimpunkan abu kanak-kanak itu, lalu dibawanya kepada nabi Allah serta katanya, "Assalam alaika, ya nabi Allah, ambillah oleh tuanhamba habu ini." Maka sahut Nabi Allah Isa, "Waalaika assalam warahmatullah wabarakatuh."

Maka habu itupun diambil Nabi Allah Isa daripadanya lalu ditutup nabi Allah dengan rumahnya, maka dipalunya pula dengan tongkatnya serta katanya, "Hai kanak-kanak, bangkitlah engkau jadilah seperti hidup yang sempurna dengan izin Allah Taala." Maka kanak-kanak itupun bangkitlah lalu ia berdiri<sup>329</sup> dengan terhulur lidahnya antara kedua bibirnya, serta katanya, "*Lā ilāh illā 'llāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu wa-anna 'īsā ruh 'llāh.*"

Maka berdatang sembah pula ia kepada Nabi Allah Isa, "Ya nabi Allah, tuan titahkanlah hamba pergi kepada raja itu sekali lagi." Maka sabda nabi Allah, "Hai kanak-kanak, pergilah engkau jangan takut bahwa Allah Taala ada sertamu."

---

<sup>326</sup> from B and C. <sup>327</sup> / *manghawāni*; B follows A.

<sup>328</sup> from C. <sup>329</sup> A *terdiri*; B and C *berdiri*.

Maka kanak-kanak itupun pergilah, lalu ia berdiri di hadapan raja serta katanya, "Hai raja, kahwinkanlah olehmu akan daku dengan anakmu itu, dan kauberikan akan daku setengah kerajaanmu, dan kaujadikan aku pada masa hidupmu akan wazirku dan kemudian daripada matimu akan gantimu kerajaan. Dan kata olehmu kata yang sebenarnya yaitu: *Lā ilāh illā 'llāh wa-anna 'īsā ruh 'llāh.*" Demi kanak-kanak itu menyebut, "*Lā ilāh illā 'llāh,*" maka segala berhala itupun habis gugur tertiharap. Maka raja itu pun rebah lalu pingsan.

339

Maka tatkala nyedarliah daripada pingsan, maka iapun bersabda kepada segala hulubalangnyanya, "Siapa jua daripadamu yang dapat membunuh kanak-kanak ini?" Tiba-tiba datang Iblis (alaihi allaknat) serta katanya, "Ya tuanku, syah alam, bahwa orang muda<sup>330</sup> ini datang kepada syah alam hendak mohonkan: anak syah alam yang perempuan bahwa ia mengatakan dirinya pesuruh Rabbul-alamina bahwa ia hubatan lagi dusta sekali tiada ia mati. Jika syah alam serahkan pekerjaan itu kepada diperhamba, niscaya diperhambalah membinasakan dia." Maka sabda raja itu, "Kuserahkanlah pekerjaan ini kepadamu, perbuatlah barang kehendakmu."

Maka kata Iblis itu, "Hai orang muda, hendak kahwinkah engkau dengan anak raja ini?" Maka sahur orang muda itu, "Bahkan." Maka kata Iblis, "Bahwa anak raja perempuan itu menghendaki isi kahwinnya daripadamu tujuh puluh unta yang dimuati dengan emas, dan tujuh puluh unta yang penuh dengan perak, dan tujuh puluh unta yang dipenuhi daripada mutiara dan tujuh puluh unta yang dipenuhi dengan yakut."

Demi didengar orang muda katanya demikian, maka iapun kembalilah kepada Nabi Allah Isa hingga sampailah ia. Maka Nabi Allah Isapun melihat kepadanya serta bersabda, "Hai

---

<sup>330</sup> To this point the youth has been called *kanak-kanak* although the account portrays him as being beyond his childhood. The word *kanak-kanak* appears in this case to be applicable to a wider age range.

orang muda, adakah engkau hidup?" Maka sembahnya, "Bahkan, ya nabi Allah, bahwa datang hamba ini karena suatu hajat yang amat besar." Maka sabda nabi Allah, "Apa hajatmu itu?" Maka sembahnya, "Dipintai oleh mereka itu (daripada yang)<sup>331</sup> diperhamba tujuh puluh unta yang berisi emas, dan tujuh puluh unta yang berisi perak, dan tujuh puluh unta yang berisi mutiara dan tujuh puluh unta yang berisi yakut."

Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Jangan engkau takut bahwa Allah Taala jua memeliharaikan dikau dan memudahkan akan kehendaknya itu. Hai orang muda, pergilah engkau kepada mereka itu serta pintai olehmu orang dan unta yang akan membawa segala pintanya itu. Setelah itu maka kaubawa akan sekalian mereka itu kepada bukit yang besar. Maka pinta olehmu akan bukit itu: Hai segala berbendaharaan dalam bumi, disuruhkan Rasul Rabbul-alamin aku kepadamu karena mengambil emas dan perak dan mutiara dan yakut."

Maka orang muda itupun pergilah kepada raja itu, maka iapun sampailah serta katanya, "Hai raja, berilah olehmu orang dan unta akan membawa segala yang kaupinta itu." Maka rajapun menyuruhkan beberapa orang membawa segala unta serta orang muda itu. Maka orang muda itupun pergilah membawai sekalian mereka itu kepada bukit yang besar itu, serta katanya, "Hai bukit, bahwasanya aku pesuruh daripada pesuruhnya Rabbul-alamin kepadamu karena mengambil emas dan perak dan mutiara dan yakut."

Demi didengar bukit kata orang muda itu, maka jadilah dengan izin Allah Taala segala batu dan kersik itu emas dan perak dan mutiara dan yakut. (Maka katanya akan segala orang yang sertanya itu, "Muatlah oleh kamu segala yang dikehendaki raja kamu." Maka)<sup>332</sup> dimuatkan segala mereka itulah ke atas unta, maka dibawanyalah kepada raja itu, | serta katanya, "Hai raja, ambil olehmu arta ini."

331 from B and C.

332 from C; haplograph on word *maka* in both A and B.

Maka tatkala dilihat raja itu arta yang amat banyak, maka iapun menilik kepada Iblis serta ia bersabda, "Telah dibilasakan orang muda inilah daya upayamu itu." Maka sahut Iblis, "Sabarlah tuanhamba, ada pada hamba tipu yang lain, sekali-kali tiada kuasa ia mengadakan dia." Seraya katanya akan orang muda itu, "Hai orang muda, sungguhkah engkau hendak kahwin dengan anak raja ini?" Maka sahutnya, "Bahkan." Maka kata (Iblis)<sup>333</sup>, "Bahwa dipinta anak raja kepadamu itu suatu istana yang muallak antara langit dan bumi, tujuh tingkatnya, pada tiap-tiap suatu tingkat dua sungai yang mengalir airnya dan dalamnya beberapa pohon kayu yang berbuah. Jika kuasa engkau perbuatlah seperti kehendak raja." Maka orang muda itupun kembalilah kepada Nabi Allah (Isa)<sup>333</sup> (alaihi assalam) serta sembahnya, "Ya nabi Allah, dipintanya kepada hamba suatu kehendaknya terlebih pula daripada kehendaknya yang dahulu itu." Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Apa kehendaknya itu?" Maka sembahnya, "Dipintanya akan diperhamba suatu istana yang muallak antara langit dan bumi, tujuh tingkatnya, pada tiap-tiap suatu tingkat dua sungai yang mengalir airnya dan di dalamnya segala pohon kayu yang berbuah." Maka sabda Nabi Allah Isa, "Hai orang muda, jangan engkau takut, bahwa Allah Taala /<sup>334</sup> menghasilkan kehendaknya itu dan menghairamkan muka mereka itu."

Maka pada malam itu Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi assalam)-pun berdirilah sembahyang dua rakaat sesalam serta ia minta doa kepada Allah azza wajalla, demikian bunyinya, "Ilahi wa sayidi wa maulaya, Engkau jua yang amat kuasa atas segala sesuatu." Belum lagi putus doa Nabi Allah Isa, maka turun wahyu kepadanya, "Hai Isa, bahwasanya telah Kujadikan mukjizatmu itu empat ribu tahun lamanya dahulu daripada Kujadikan dikau, hai Isa, apabila subuhlah hari, maka meniliklah engkau kepada tempat terbit matahari.

---

<sup>333</sup> from B and C.

<sup>334</sup> / *hai orang muda jangan engkau takut bahwa Allah Taala.*

Hatta maka subuhlah hari, maka nabi Allahpun menilik kepada tempat terbit matahari, maka dilihatnya sebuah istana yang muallak antara langit dan bumi. Maka sabda nabi Allah, "Hai orang muda, lihatlah olehmu inilah istana yang dipinta mereka itu daripadamu. Pergilah engkau kepada raja itu, katakan olehmu kepadanya: Hai raja, tilik olehmu kepada tempat terbit matahari itu." Maka orang muda itupun pergilah kepada raja. Setelah ia sampai, maka kata orang muda akan dia, "Hai raja, tilik olehmu kepada tempat terbit matahari." Maka rajapun meniliklah kepadanya, maka dilihatnya sebuah istana yang muallak antara langit dan bumi yang terbaik daripada yang dikehendaki(-nya)<sup>335</sup> itu. Maka rajapun hairanlah serta katanya, "Hai orang muda, sanyalah Tuhanmu itu Tuhan yang sebenarnya dan Isa itu pesuruh-Nya yang sebenarnya. Bahwasanya yang ada padaku tiga ratus tuhanku, tiada kuasa mereka itu mengadakan sesuatu jua pun."

341

Maka berkata pula raja itu, "Hai orang muda, bawa olehmu nabi Isa kepadaku." Maka sahutnya orang muda, "Bahwasanya Nabi Allah Isa tiada ia mau datang kepadamu, seyogyanya engkau jua pergi kepadanya." Demi didengar kata orang muda itu demikian, maka raja itupun keluarlah serta segala bala tenteranya hingga sampai kepada Nabi Allah Isa (alaihi as-salam). Maka sabda nabi Allah kepadanya, "Hai raja, inilah istana yang muallak antara langit dan bumi, di mana di kaukehendaki, di dalam duniakah atau di dalam akhiratkah?" Maka sembahnya, "Ya nabi Allah, tobatlah diperhamba, dan tuan ajarkanlah akan hamba agama Islam." Maka Nabi Allah Isapun berjabat tangan dengan dia serta diajarkannyalah akan dia, "*Ashhadu 'an lā ilāh illā 'llāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu wa-anna 'īsā ruh 'llāh.*"

Maka raja itupun masuklah Islam dan sertanya empat puluh ribu laki-laki daripada kaumnya masuk Islam. Dan dinikahkannya<sup>336</sup> anaknya perempuan dengan orang muda itu, serta diberikannya akan dia setengah kerajaannya dan dijadikannya

<sup>335</sup> from B and C.      <sup>336</sup> B and C *dikahwinkannyalah.*

ia akan wazirnya pada masa hidupnya dan diwasiatkannya akan dia kerajaannya apabila ia mati. Maka orang muda itupun sukacitalah dan Nabi Allah Isapun kembalilah ke Baitulmukadas dengan sentosanya dan sukacitanya (wa Allahu alam).

#### SECTION 4 - THE TRANSLATION

##### 4.1 TRANSLATION OF BOOK IV OF THE *BUSTAN US-SALATIN*

###### Story 1

I now begin the section of my tales dealing with some of the ascetic kings of former times (may God bless them).

Abu Bakar anak Abu'd-Dunia heard Harath anak Muhammad of the Tamimi tribe descended from the Kuraisy say:

Once upon a time Raja Iskandar Zulkarnain was travelling when he came to a ruined city. On the gate of the city was writing saying, "This city was governed by seven kings who have all perished." Reading this Raja Iskandar Zulkarnain asked someone at his side, "Who lives in this city now? Is there any living descendant of the former kings?" They replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, certainly. A man descended from them lives in a graveyard." "Go and summon him," he ordered. This was done and the man came. Raja Iskandar inquired of him, "Servant of God, why do you live in a graveyard?" He replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, for some time I have been attempting to distinguish between the bones of kings and those of their servants; but I am unable to distinguish between them as they are alike."

Raja Iskandar then inquired, "Would you like to accompany me so that I may increase your status and that of your ancestors?" He replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, if I am to agree with what you propose, I should



278

like you to fulfil certain conditions; only then will I follow you." Raja Iskandar asked, "Prince, what are the conditions you desire?" He replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, firstly life without death, secondly youth without ever ageing, thirdly wealth without ever knowing poverty, and fourthly everlasting enjoyment without sorrow." Raja Iskandar said, "Prince, who is able to grant such conditions?" He replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, if you are unable to grant them, say nothing more, and let me seek them from whoever is able to grant them." The story goes: Iskandar Zulkarnain then travelled onwards astonished at the prince's words.

## Story 2

Syekh Abdullah Yafii (may God be pleased with him) said:

Once upon a time a king called Abu'l-Fawaris Syah ibn Suja (may God bless him) who ruled in Karaman went out to hunt. He came across a deer and pursued it over a great distance until he reached a desert and became separated from his followers. There he came across a young man who was mounted on a lion and he was surrounded by a number of other lions. When the lions saw the king, they made as if to pounce on him; but the young man drove them away from him. When the young man came near the king, he greeted him saying, "Your majesty, you are preoccupied with this world; by following your own desires you have alienated yourself from your devotions to God Most High. However God Most High has bestowed this world upon you to help you pay your devotions to Him, but you have turned this world into a means of being distracted from Him."

Whilst the young man was saying this, suddenly an old woman appeared with a pitcher of water. She handed it to the young man on the lion who drank from it. A little water remained which he gave to the king. The king drank the

water saying, "I have never tasted anything more pleasant or sweeter than this." The woman then disappeared and the young man said, "Your majesty, God Most High has subjected this world to my service, and, whenever I need something, He provides it for me as soon as I wish for it. Have you not heard that when God Most High created the world He said to it: O world, serve him who serves Me, and make him who serves you into your slave."

Upon hearing the young man's advice, the king repented and the events which followed are well known.

### Story 3

The story goes:

There was once a king who had practised asceticism for some time and then returned to his city and his kingship. He ordered a palace of fine workmanship to be constructed. On its completion the king wished to feast in it, to eat, drink and have a pleasant time. He ordered this to be proclaimed to the citizens and all went to eat, drink and have a pleasant time in the palace and to admire its fine workmanship and ornamentation. They arrived and did this for several days. One day the king set off to the palace with his officials and captains and he addressed them saying, "My officials, can you see my delight with this palace? In my opinion I should have one like this built for my children, I wish to discuss the building of another palace for my children but meanwhile, stay with me in this palace and we will enjoy ourselves for some days." The officials and captains stayed in the palace, eating, drinking and having a pleasant time and the king conferred over the building of the palace.

Suddenly one night the king and his captains heard a poem from the palace, it went:

"O you who wish to build a palace and have forgotten what  
you intended,

Do not trust in life, as death will surely come

To all creatures, be they pleased or grieved.

Death will cut short excessive illusions.

Do not build a palace which is merely a transitory abode,

Return to your former ascetic life, so that He may pardon  
your sins which all have heard."

280

Hearing this the astonished king, his officials and captains  
were extremely sorrowful and then became frightened. The  
king asked, "Did you hear what I heard?" "Indeed," they all  
replied. The king inquired, "Do you feel as I do?" "We  
cannot feel what you, lord of the universe, feel," they  
replied. The king said, "My heart has been seized by fear  
but you will not see it until my death." They said, "May  
God preserve you in good health." The king then wept.  
He ordered the drink to be poured away and the musical  
instruments to be burnt. Then he repented to God Most  
High and thought of death until the arrival of his own  
death (may God bless him).

#### Story 4

And the story goes:

There was once a king in the city of Kundah in Yaman who  
was very fond of playing musical instruments and also of  
having a good time eating and drinking. Once upon a time  
he went out to hunt for pleasure, became separated from  
his followers and met a man sitting gathering the bones of  
the dead which lay before him and turning them over and  
over. Raja Kundah asked him, "Sir, what is your purpose  
and why are you in this terrible condition? Your body has  
become emaciated and your appearance altered by your soli-  
tude in this wilderness."

The man replied, "What you say is true, for now I wish to go on a lengthy journey. There will be two men guarding and frightening me who will take me to a cramped and dark place, a disgusting and unpleasant crevice of the earth. I will then be ordered to the place of affliction, under the layers of the earth together with those already destroyed. You should see that cramped and terrifying place, and the animals which crawl on the earth eating my flesh until my flesh and bones are crushed to dust. All these afflictions will happen to me, but may there be some peace at the end of it for me. I will then be raised up and will receive the consequence of my works in either of the two places, heaven or hell."

281

Hearing the young man's words, Raja Kundah dismounted from his horse and sitting before him said, "Servant of God, your words have cast a cloud over my previously pure life; this agreeable world has turned bitter and your advice has imprinted itself on the heart of this servant of God. Tell me about your faith." The man inquired, "Do you not see what is piled up before me here?" "Indeed, I can see," he replied. The man said, "These are the bones of kings who were proud of the adornments of this world and were heedless of the peril of death until their own hour of death came. At that moment they blushed at their excessive illusions. Death made them abandon the joys and pleasures of this world. Their bones will be returned to their bodies and then the reckoning will take place and they will be rewarded by heaven or hell."

After this the man vanished and no one knew where he had gone. Then the king's followers came to find him and the officials and captains saw that his expression had changed and that he was weeping. That night the king forsook his royal attire and donned two pieces of coarse cloth, one he wore as a *sarung* and the other on the upper part of his body. That very night he went out and forsook his kingship.

(i) As the poem says:

"(The kings who were living in pleasure have perished,) Destroyed by the assault of day and night.

O you who sleep soundly at the beginning of the night, Misfortunes come at dawn.

Do not feel safe in a night whose beginning is pleasant, For the end of the night will bring a flaming fire."

## Story 5

The story goes:

282 There was once a king in former times who ordered a palace of fine workmanship and ornamentation to be constructed. When it was complete, the king ordered the citizens to be summoned and be feasted. They all came to the palace to eat, drink and to have a pleasant time. The king addressed the gate-keeper saying, "Ask everyone who goes out of this palace: Have you noticed any blemish in this palace or not?" Presently the people left and the gate-keeper questioned them one by one. They replied, "The palace does not have even one blemish." After them several men wearing coarse dress emerged and the gate-keeper questioned them also saying, "Have you noticed any blemish in this palace?" "Indeed, there are two," they replied.

When the gate-keeper heard this, he detained them and reported to the king, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, I have several men who say that there are two blemishes in this palace." Hearing this, the king ordered, "Summon them." The men came into the king's presence and he questioned them, "What are the two blemishes that you have noticed in this palace?" They replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, firstly it will be destroyed and secondly its occupants will perish." The king inquired, "Do you know of a palace which will not be destroyed nor its occupants perish?" They replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, there is a palace which

will not be destroyed nor its occupants perish, it is heaven."

They told the king about the various kinds of pleasures in heaven until they induced him to yearn for it. They also informed him about hell and its occupants and punishments until they induced in the king fear of the kinds of punishments in hell. They also induced him to perform acts of devotion to God Most High. Hearing their words, awareness entered the king's heart, he repented, left the palace, forsook his kingship and he walked in the path of God Most High (may God bless him).

## Story 6

The story goes:

There were in former times two kings in the state of Yaman. For some time they had been fighting each other and the defeated king was slain by his opponent and his people were taken captive. The king ordered the construction of a palace with splendid ornamentation. It was built and when it was complete, the king set off to travel to it with his people. On the way he came across a madman and as the king approached, he began to recite saying,  
 "Listen if you are wise, O king, to the news of former times,  
 For in these times you can order and forbid.

283

There are many kings who have earth heaped upon them,  
 Whom I have seen in pleasure.  
 If you are wise in this world,  
 Then you will only take from it the provisions for a journey.  
 If a man preserves his religion,  
 Then he will not be destroyed."

Hearing this poem, the king said, "What you say is true."  
 He then dismounted from his horse, parted from his followers and climbed a hill. His followers also wanted to accompany

him but the king cursed them saying, "Do not follow me, not even one of you." That was his fate and it left the country of Yaman without a king. After some time the officials chose a king from amongst those suitable, made him king and thus that country had a king again.

## Story 7

The story goes:

Once upon a time a ruler in the country of Kirman sought the hand of the daughter of Raja Syah Kirmani who requested three days' delay as his daughter wanted to marry a pious man. Raja Syah Kirmani searched for a pious man in all the mosques until he found a pious young man at his prayers. When he had finished his prayers, Raja Syah Kirmani addressed him, "Do you have a wife?" "I have no wife," replied the young man, "Would you like a wife who recites the Quran, prays, fasts and moreover is very beautiful?" he asked. The young man replied, "Who is there who would give such a wife to me when all I possess is three *dirhams*?" Raja Syah Kirmani said, "I will marry you to my daughter and I will ratify the agreement if you spend one *dirham* on bread, one on meat and one on perfume, that is all you will need to spend." Raja Kirmani then said, "Young man, let us go to your house." And the two went to the young man's home and he married the princess to the young man.

284

Raja Syah Kirmani then sent his daughter to the young man's house. Entering her husband's house, she saw two loaves of dry bread on a pitcher with an uneven edge. Seeing the bread she said, "What is this?" Her husband replied, "This bread remained over from yesterday, I kept it to break my fast." Hearing her husband's words, she made as if to return home and her husband said, "I knew that the daughter of a king would not be able to live with me as a husband and accept my poverty." The princess replied, "The

daughter of Raja Syah Kirmani is not leaving you because of your poverty but because of your lack of faith. I am not astonished at your poverty but truly surprised that my father could say, 'I am marrying you to a pious and ascetic man,' when he was one who had no more faith in God Most High than to keep bread (against his needs)."

Her husband said, "I ask for forgiveness for this act." The princess retorted, "As for apologies that is your concern, but I for my part will not live in a house where there is any evident means of sustenance. Either the bread goes or I do." Without delay her husband removed the bread and gave it as alms. The princess then lived with her husband performing acts of devotion to God Most High.

#### Story 8

The story goes:

Once upon a time there was during the time of the Israelites a princess of that tribe who was just and devout. Her hand was sought by a prince of the same tribe but she refused to marry him. The princess said to one of her servants, "Go and search for a *fakir* who is pious and devout." The servant went, found a *fakir* and brought him to her. Seeing him she said, "Servant of God, would you like to marry me?" "Indeed, I should like to," he replied. She suggested, "Come, let us go to the *mualim*." Both of them went and the *mualim* married them. She then said to her husband, "Take me to your house." He replied, "By God, I have no possessions at all except this wrap which I am wearing; by night I sleep in it and by day I wear it." "I accept your circumstances," said the princess. She was then taken to her husband's house and he was industrious during the day. One night as a result of his efforts, he obtained food to bring back to her in order for her to break her fast, but he brought nothing to eat in the morning as they voluntarily fasted



during the daylight hours for God Most High. If he obtained some food, then she broke her fast; if not, she gave thanks to God Most High for their circumstances. The princess said, "Only now have I accomplished my acts of devotion to God Most High."

On one occasion her husband went to search for sustenance but obtained nothing at all, was sorrowful and said to himself, "My wife is at home fasting, waiting for me to bring her some food to break her fast." He performed his ritual ablutions, and carried out two *rakaats* praying, "My Lord, You know that Your servant does not ask for anything of this world on his own account, but I only ask on my wife's behalf who is also pious, that You may send Your servant sustenance from Your presence, please send it." The story goes: Suddenly a pearl fell from the sky and the *fakir* took it and conveyed it to his wife. Seeing it she was astonished and exclaimed, "Where did you obtain this pearl from? I have never seen one like it, not even in my father's treasury." He said, "Today I went to search for sustenance and found nothing at all. Then I thought to myself that my wife is at home waiting for me to bring food to break her fast, moreover she is a princess and I have to return to her taking nothing. So I prayed to God Most High and He bestowed this pearl upon me from the sky."

His wife said, "Return to your place of prayer and pray to God Most High saying: My God, my Lord and my Master, when you bestowed this pearl to the world, You bestowed Your blessing upon us. But if our reward will be diminished in the future life, take the pearl." Her husband took the pearl and went to his place of prayer, prayed according to his wife's instructions and the pearl was lifted up into the sky. He returned to his wife and related to her what had happened. Hearing it she exclaimed, "Praise be to God, praise God who shows us the reward which He stores up for our future life," and she continued, "Now it is of no account that we have nothing at all of this world, we still give thanks to God Most High for present

## Story 9

The story goes:

Once upon a time there was a sheikh called Abdullah who was travelling with several ascetics. When it came for the time for the noon prayers, they were in a wilderness where there was no water for the ritual ablutions, so they prayed to God Most High for water. Then they saw a palace in the distance and they approached it. They noticed that the palace was lofty, of fine workmanship and around it flowed several rivers and springs. For this they gave thanks to God Most High, performed their ritual ablutions and prayed there.

Then they entered the palace and saw inscribed on the wall the following poem:

"This was the abode of people living in pleasure,  
In their time, their life was peaceful with no sadness.  
Destruction came upon them, and they passed  
To their graves, leaving no sign or trace of their existence."

Then they noticed a golden throne in the palace inscribed with the following poem:

"You are always seeking what  
You cannot obtain, and you persist in seeking it.  
I have amassed sorrow from  
The Arab and non-Arab lands.  
May kingship descend to you,  
For I have passed to join those already dead."

They then saw a marble tablet in the palace garden with the following words: "The owner of this palace was a king, all was well with him, his life was peaceful and he was feared because of his grandeur. Whilst he was enjoying his social assembly and sporting with his captains, suddenly there

came the inescapable call and the king collapsed and died. The crown fell from his head and he was borne out of the palace. Observe how quiet the palace is now with no owner."

They then wandered within the palace and noticed a vault covering a grave. Beside it lay a marble tablet inscribed with the following verse:

287

"I am alone with the earth in my grave;  
And the earth has become the pillow for my cheek."

- (i) My advice to kings who are proud of kingship is: Look at the kings of former times, they forsook their kingdoms bearing nothing except their just or unjust works. Never did they sleep on their thrones.
- (ii) As God Most High says, "There is no life in the world except through the death of things that make you proud."
- (iii) And as the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, "Be in this world as though you were a stranger or a wayfarer and reckon yourself to be amongst the inhabitants of the graves."

## Story 10

Imam Ghazali (may God hallow his secret) said:

There was a king who one day went to visit a pious sheikh and said to him, "Sheikh, please do not forget me when you are in seclusion and commend me to God Most High." The sheikh replied, "Sir, I do not even commend myself to God Most High, so how could I commend you to Him?" The king asked, "Sheikh, why do you say that?" "My lord, when I think of God Most High, I forget myself," he replied and continued, "If you still desire such a thing, think of nothing but God Most High."

- (i) My advice to servants of God is: May you increase your remembrance of God Most High, so that you may become one of the number of those who are familiar with Him.
- (ii) As God Most High says in the Quran, "Remember Me, so that I may remember you, and give thanks to Me and do not be disobedient to Me."
- (iii) God Most High also says, "O you who believe in God Most High and in His Apostle, may you frequently remember God."
- (iv) The Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, "Whoever loves something should increase his remembrances of it."

# Story 11

Muhammad ibn Simaki (may God bless him) said:

288

There was a man called Musa ibn Muhammad ibn Sulaiman of the Hasyimi tribe who was fairly young, very handsome with a round face and very rich. He was always enjoying himself and fulfilling his desires for food, drink and the wearing of fine *sarungs* and varieties of spikenard perfume. He had a number of mistresses who were young and beautiful, and a number of very young men who served him. His pleasure was the only matter of concern and God Most High granted him perfect pleasure. He would expend for his food and clothes the sum of approximately three-hundred-and-three thousand *dinars* annually.

He possessed a lofty palace and, sitting in it he would look down upon his people. This palace had a number of gates and some of them opened onto the main thoroughfare. In its garden was a small ivory palace mounted in silver and faced with gold. Inside it was a dais with covers laid over it. He wore a turban with jewellery hanging from it and he

resided in this palace with his companions. Young servants stood before him and young girls sang behind a curtain outside the walls. Whenever he wished to order them to sing, he looked towards them and made a sign and they would sing. Whenever he wished to silence them, he would make another sign with his hand towards the curtain and they would fall silent. This was his custom until the end of the evening when he would be drunk. Thereupon his companions withdrew, except for those he desired to remain until dawn and they would assemble and play chess and draughts. Neither death, sickness nor sadness was ever mentioned before him in that company; but only pleasure, peace and amusing stories. His companions ate and drank all kinds of delicacies and applied various kinds of perfume. Such was the situation for about twenty seven years.

289

Once upon a time he was in his palace at about midnight when suddenly he heard the voice of someone singing outside the palace. The voice was very melodious and differed from those of the court singers. It touched his heart and he silenced his singers. He then put his head out of one of the palace's windows which gave onto the main thoroughfare so that he could listen to the singer's voice; at times it was distinct and at times soft. He ordered a servant to summon the singer, and he was drunk at that time. His servant went to summon the singer and saw a thin young man with a slender neck, a pale complexion, thin lips, tangled hair and his stomach was shrunken so that it touched his spine. He was wearing two pieces of coarse cloth, one as a *sarung* and the other on the upper part of his body, and he was barefoot. He was standing in the mosque communing with God Most High and he did not utter a word until he was brought by the servant before his master. Musa anak Muhammad scrutinized him saying, "Who is this man?" "This is the singer whose voice you heard," the servant replied. Musa asked, "Where did you find him?" "He was in the mosque, praying and reciting," he replied. Musa inquired of the young man, "Young man, what were you reciting?" "I was reciting the word of God," he replied. Musa then asked, "Would you recite it

so that I may hear it?"

The young man recited, "I take refuge in God from the accursed devil. Those who bring good works to heaven are seated upon a curtained dais, gazing upon the bounty granted by God Most High. Their delight is apparent from the radiance in their faces. They drink pure wine from vessels sealed to all except those who have the wine; moreover their drink is of musk. This is what will be granted to you. May those who take pleasure in this bounty immediately pay devotions to God Most High. They mix this drink with the water from the river named Tasnim. This river flows to their palaces where they reside; their vessels are filled by the river and when the vessels are full it ceases. This river provides the drinking water for those close to God Most High."

290

The young man said to Musa, "Proud man, what I recited to you condemns you, it is irreconcilable with this high assembly and your coverings. For the assembly in heaven has several beautiful daises with gold flooring, studded with chrysolites, jacinths and pearls. Long coverings surround them and below are covers of silk woven with gold thread and its borders have pearl pendants. Those who are in heaven recline on green and other beautiful wide covers. This is the abode of the saints of God. Between those enjoying heaven flow two rivers which supply water to two heavens. In heaven there are several kinds of fruit trees. On each there are two kinds of fruit, one is soft and the other dry; their fruit is ceaseless whatever the season. The pleasure of the occupants of the most exalted heaven is perpetual and they hear no vain words. There is a flowing river in heaven, raised daises and a number of vessels and cushions are scattered around. Below the Tuba tree are further covers, plentiful food and they gaze upon God Most High: Enjoyment of heaven is the end for all those who fear God Most High.

But hell is the final abode for unbelievers. The dangers of hell are that those who were disloyal to God Most High

exist in the punishments of hell which will be everlasting, they will never escape from it. They are dragged face first into the fire of hell, whilst the angel who is dragging them says, 'Feel the punishments of this scorching hellfire.' At that moment those who were disloyal to God Most High remember their families, brothers and sisters and the people who love them; no one can help them to escape the punishments of hell. None can escape its punishments as its heat melts the flesh from their limbs. Cries from hell exclaim, 'Come, you who have been disloyal, you who turn from the truth, you who amass wealth without giving God His rights, now you are in very great difficulties suffering from great punishments and from the wrath of the Lord of all.' They never emerge from hellfire."

291

Hearing this advice Musa anak Muhammad stood up from his seat and weeping embraced the young man. He said to those in his house, "Be off with you." He then went out into the courtyard, sat down with the young man on a mat, shrieking and lamenting, and the young man taught him until dawn. Musa repented to God Most High and he never again committed wickedness. Early in the morning he announced his repentance and henceforth he frequented the mosque performing acts of devotion to God Most High. He ordered his wealth of gold, silver, jewels and his clothing to be sold and gave all the proceeds away as alms. He severed his ties to lust and he sold his ornaments and his male and female slaves. He freed those who wished it and gave all away as alms. Then he put on a goatherd's smock and all night he was awake performing acts of devotion. During the day he fasted so that the pious and elect came to visit him saying, "Have mercy upon us, for God Most High is a noble Lord who receives our small deeds and repays with great reward." Musa anak Muhammad replied, "My brothers, I am truly aware of my own case; my sins were grievous, day and night being disloyal to God Most High." He shed copious tears for himself. Then he went on the pilgrimage, travelling barefoot and carrying nothing with him except a water-vessel and a leather bag until he arrived at the noble

city of Makah. When he had completed his pilgrimage, he lived there until his death.

## Story 12

The story goes:

Once upon a time Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain was plunged in sorrow and did not emerge from his palace. Jalinus Hakim came before him, saw Iskandar Zulkarnain absorbed in sorrow, and said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, what makes you so sorrowful that you do not emerge from the palace?" He replied, "I am sorrowful because kingship in this world is transitory, is not lasting and will disappear. It causes anxiety and is a burden for people. It is the futile acts that render me sorrowful."

292

Jalinus Hakim said, "What you say, lord of the universe, is true; for kingship in this world is a portent of the great everlasting kingdom in the life to come. Kingship in the life to come equates to the kingship of this world. If kingship in this world is conducted righteously, it will certainly result in most glorious everlasting kingship in the life to come." When Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain heard these words of Jalinus Hakim, he was delighted.

- (i) My advice is that all servants of God should carry out their actions in this world for the sake of the future life.
- (ii) The Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) relating the words of the prophet Dawud said, "Utmost aid to the faith amounts to riches."



## Story 13

The story goes:

Once upon a time Iskandar Zulkarnain set off travelling with his followers and came to a city whose inhabitants were poor and had no earthly wealth; and each of them dug graves in his own courtyard beside the graves of those who had already died. It was their custom to visit these graves at every opportunity to sweep and repair them. They would all pay their acts of devotion to God Most High beside these graves and they ate nothing except grass and leaves.

The sultan ordered someone, "Go and summon the king of these people." He went, and when he came to the king he said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain summons you." He replied, "I refuse to go; what do I desire from him?" He returned and reported the king's words. Hearing this, the sultan set off to find the king, and, coming face to face asked, "King, why are you in this condition? I notice that you have nothing made of gold or silver and none of the pleasures of the world." The king replied, "Zulkarnain, none of us desires the pleasures of the world." Zulkarnain asked, "Why do you and your people dig graves in your yards?" "Zulkarnain, we can always be reminded of death when we look at these graves and thus we lose our love for this world. We do not become preoccupied with this world and we are able to pay our devotions to our Lord," he replied. Zulkarnain asked, "King, why do you all eat grass and leaves?" "Zulkarnain, we do not want to turn our stomachs into a place for worms nor to choke," replied the king.

293

The king put his hand down into a crevice of the earth, brought out a skull and placed it before Zulkarnain asking, "Zulkarnain, do you know who this was?" "I do not know," he replied. The king said, "This is the skull of a great man who amassed worldly wealth, oppressed his subjects

and the poor and needy. During his life he only amassed worldly wealth, so God Most High caused his death and sent him to hell." Once again the king put his hand down into a crevice of the earth, brought out another skull and placed it before Zulkarnain saying, "Zulkarnain, do you know who this was?" "I do not know," he replied. The king said, "This is the skull of a great king who was just and loved his subjects; God Most High caused his death and sent him to heaven and raised his status."

After saying this, the king touched Zulkarnain's head saying, "Zulkarnain, this head will become like that of the second man." Hearing this Zulkarnain shed copious tears and embraced him asking, "King, would you like to accompany me as my vizier? I will share my kingdom with you." "Alas, I do not desire that," replied the king. Zulkarnain asked, "Why do you refuse it?" He replied, "Zulkarnain, because the world and your kingship, captains and subjects are your enemies. But my people love me and thus I am content enough. Return home and may God Most High go with you." And Iskandar Zulkarnain returned home.

- (i) My advice to the servants of God who believe in the day of judgement is: May they always remember death.
- (ii) As God Most High says in the Quran, "It is the Lord who has created life and death to test which of you has performed good works."
- (iii) One day Siti Aisyah (may God be pleased with her) inquired, "Apostle of God, how can the merit of those who die martyrs be the same as those who do not?" The Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) replied, "Whoever remembers death twenty times a day receives the same reward as one who dies a martyr; they both receive the status of a martyr."
- 294 (iv) The Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) also said, "Increase your remembrances of death, for in this way you

will erase all your sins and banish love of the world from your heart."

- (v) Inscribed on the crown of Raja Kay Khusrau was the following verse:

"No matter how many years your life may be extended,  
Eventually men will come and tread the ground above your  
head.

As the kingdom has descended to you,  
Likewise you will pass on knowledge to your successors."

- (vi) Abu'l-Hasan al-Ahwazi said, "This world is not pure for those who taste it and it is transitory for its possessors. So take today your provisions for tomorrow."

- (vii) The following poem was inscribed on the grave of Sultan Yakub ibn Laith of Khurasani:

"I gathered to myself the countries of Khurasani and Farsi,  
Also the country of Irak, bringing peace there.  
May you enjoy peace and the best of pleasure in the world;  
As if Yakub was not upon his throne."

#### Story 14

Abu Hurairah (may God be pleased with him) said:

One day the Apostle of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) asked me, "Abu Hurairah, would you like me to show you the conditions of this world." "Indeed, Apostle of God, I should like to," I replied. The Apostle of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) took my hand and led me until we stood at the place where people cast away their refuse. In this place human skulls had been cast away with decayed bones crushed to pieces and scraps of decayed rag smeared with excrement. The Apostle of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, "Abu Hurairah, these human skulls which you now see are like

295

your head which coveted and amassed wealth. The people who once possessed these skulls continued their lives in the manner you are hoping to continue yours. They amassed wealth and worldly ornaments just as you are now doing. Their bones are now scattered, their bodies completely crushed and the rags which you now see were their robes which adorned them in their time of luxury whilst they boasted and were grandiose; now the wind blows them into the filth. These are the bones of the animals which bore them. This filth is the delicious food which they struggled to produce; because of this they stole from one another although now they have been discarded to the refuse place and no one can approach because of its foul stench. What you are now seeing and gazing at are the things of this world in their entirety. Whoever wishes to weep at the perils of this world, he should weep, for this is a place for weeping." Abu Hurairah reported that the companions who were present at that moment wept.

- (i) The Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) also said, "Alienate yourself from this world, for it is of the magic of Harut and Marut."
- (ii) The wise say that the spell of this world displays itself to you but it is continually escaping with every atom and breath.
- (iii) As another example, the world resembles a shadow which appears to be permanent but is in fact constantly changing. Likewise your life is constantly diminishing with every instant.
- (iv) As another example, this world is like an inciting woman who deceives men. When they desire her, she takes them home and they are friendly to her; but in the end she destroys them.

## Story 15

Once upon a time the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) addressed God Most High saying, "O my Lord, O my God and my Master, show the world to your servant." God Most High revealed it to the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) in the form of an old woman. He asked her, "Old woman, how many husbands have you had?" "I cannot count them all," she replied. He asked, "Did they die or divorce you?" "Prophet of God, I destroyed them and killed them all," she replied. The Prophet of God Isa then said, "O people, I am astonished at the lack of sense of some people; they see that your state is thus, how can they still want to love you rather than take a warning from your situation?"

296

## Story 16

Chapter two concerns the conduct of the saints of God in former times.

- (a) God Most High speaks in the Quran saying, "Whoever obeys God and His Apostle in what He orders, will be amongst those to whom God Most High has bestowed knowledge and has brought near to His presence; these are the prophets, the upright (that is Abu Bakar and those who follow his disposition), the martyrs who have died in the holy war of God and the righteous. They are the best of friends and visit each other in heaven where they are enjoying gazing upon God Most High with them. If their status and dwellings were different, God would sufficiently know their rewards in the future life."

The commentators on the Quran said:

This verse was revealed because of a companion of the

Apostle of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) called Thauban who faithfully served the Prophet of God and always accompanied him. One day after some time he was sad and said, "Alas, whilst the Prophet of God is on this earth I can accompany him, but in the future life his status and dwelling place will be very high. How can I be with him?" Thinking thus his heart was greatly saddened for some time; his body became thin and his face became pale. Seeing his condition, the Prophet of God asked, "Thauban, why are you like this? Is there something that saddens your heart?" He replied, "Apostle of God, I am sad for myself because, whilst you are alive on this earth, I can accompany you, but in the future life will not your status and dwelling place be higher? How can I be with you? It is because of this that I am saddened."

297 The Prophet of God said, "Thauban, you will be amongst those you love." At that moment the verse was revealed.

- (i) As God Most High says in a divine saying, "Whoever is hostile to My saint, I will declare war against him. Whatever obligatory acts of devotion My servant may bring before Me, I will love him for them. My servant is always approaching Me with superogatory acts of devotion and I love him. When I love him, I shall be his ears with which he listens, his eyes with which he sees, his hands with which he grasps and his feet with which he walks. If he asks for something from Me, I will certainly grant it to him. If he seeks refuge in Me, I will grant him refuge."

In that account the ears, eyes, hands and feet are as if the members follow what their owner desires. Similarly God (praise be to Him the Most High) grants the desires of His saints.

- (ii) God Most High also says in a divine saying, "I prefer to love My faithful saints who have no possessions, have empty homes, who with delight perform their prayers and are the best at serving their Lord with secrecy; they are concealed

from men. No one points to them with his finger. Their sustenance is sufficient and they patiently accept it. The Prophet of God then pointed with his own hand saying, 'He immediately dies, few weep for him and his legacy is small.'

# Story 17

Ibn Masud (may God be pleased with him) reported that he heard the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) say:

298 God Most High created upon the earth three hundred men with hearts like the prophet Adam, forty with hearts like the prophet of God Musa, seven with hearts like the prophet of God Ibrahim, five with hearts like Jibrail, three with hearts like Mikail and one with a heart like Israfil (upon him be peace). When the last-mentioned dies, God Most High replaces him with one of the three. When one of them dies, God Most High replaces him with one of the five. When one of the five dies, God Most High replaces him with one of the seven. When one of them dies, God Most High replaces him with one of the forty. When one of the forty dies, God Most High replaces him with one of the three hundred and when one of the three hundred dies, God Most High replaces him with one of the company of believers. It is because of them that God Most High allows my community to escape afflictions. Now the single one mentioned in that *hadith* is called Kutub or Ghauth.

- (i) The Blessed Ali (may God be pleased with him) said: Abdal resides in Syam, Nujaba in Mesir, Asaib in Irak, Nukaba in Khurasani and Autad resides anywhere in the world. Khidir is the head of them all.
- (ii) Khidir (upon him be peace) said: There are three hundred men called Aulia, seventy called Nujaba, forty called Autad, ten called Urapa, three called Mukhtaruna and one called Ghauth.

- (iii) The Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said,  
 "Amongst my community, the Abdal amount to forty of which  
 twenty two are in Syam and eighteen are in Irak. When one  
 of them dies, God Most High replaces him with another and  
 when the day of judgement comes they will all die."

# Story 18

Abu'd-Dardai (may God be pleased with him) said:

299 God Most High created a number of men called Abdal; people  
 do not attain to the rank of Abdal with much orthodox fas-  
 ting and much prayer, great humility before God Most High  
 and good conduct. But they attain to the rank of Abdal  
 with complete honesty and the best aims by guarding their  
 hearts and loving the Muslim servants of God. God Most  
 High has chosen them through His knowledge and they have  
 determined the forty men whose hearts are like that of the  
 prophet Ibrahim, none of them dies before they can pay  
 their devotions to God Most High.

Let their conduct be known to you: They do not utter oaths  
 nor curse anything; they neither harm anyone below their  
 rank, nor envy anyone above their rank; they are the best  
 of people in repaying good and the gentlest by disposition;  
 and they are the most generous of people. For matters bet-  
 ween them and their Lord they do not receive a swift steed  
 and a strong wind; however their hearts truly will ascend  
 to the highest heavens because of their love of God Most  
 High and their longing for goodness. They are the follo-  
 wers of God Most High. Know that they are the blessed ones.



Syekh Abdullah Yafii (may God be pleased with him) said:

There was a pious man called Syekh Abdu'r-Rahman who said: I was seated in Baitulmukadas beside the tomb of Sulaiman (upon him be peace) on a Friday having performed the afternoon prayer when I saw two men sitting one of whom looked like a human and the other was large and tall, his forehead was about a cubit wide and on it was a wound which he was holding. Now the one in the form of a man sat beside me and greeted me whilst the other sat at a distance from me. I asked the man, "Who are you, may God have mercy upon you?" "Khidir," (upon him be peace) he replied. I inquired further, "Who is that man?" "My brother Ilias," he replied. He approached me and said, "Do not fear, we love you." He continued, "Whoever performs the Friday prayer facing the *kiblat* reciting the following names of God: O God, O Compassionate One, until when the sun sets and then asks Him for what he desires, this will be certainly granted by God Most High."

300

I commented, "Love me so that God Most High may love you;" and I continued by asking, "Do you know the saints of God on the earth?" "Indeed, there is a fixed number of them," he replied. I asked, "What does this fixed number mean?" He replied, "When our Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) died the earth made a petition to God Most High thus, 'My Lord, there will be no further prophet of God walking over me until the day of resurrection.' God Most High spoke, 'Earth, I will create from the community of My beloved Muhammad several men like prophets with their hearts like the prophets.'"

I further inquired, "How many will there be of them?" He replied, "Three hundred called Aulia, seventy called Nujaba, forty called Autad, ten called Nukaba, seven called Urapa, three called Mukhtaruna and one called Ghauth. When the

Ghauth dies, one is chosen from amongst the Mukhtaruna and is given his position; then one is chosen from amongst the Urapa and is given the position of Mukhtaruna; then one is chosen from amongst the Autad and is given the position of Nukaba; then one is chosen from amongst the Nukaba and is given the position of Autad; then one is chosen from the Aulia and is given the position of Nujaba; then a pious man is chosen from the whole world and is given the position of Aulia - Thus it will be until the day of resurrection. Now there are amongst them those with hearts like the prophet of God Musa and the prophet of God Isa (upon them both be peace), and some with hearts like the prophet of God Nuh and the prophet of God Ibrahim (upon them both be peace)." I inquired further, "There are also those with hearts like the prophet Ibrahim?" "Indeed, and there are also those with hearts like Jibrail, the prophet of God Dawud and the prophet of God Sulaiman (upon the last two be peace)," he replied.

301

Khidir (upon him be peace) asked, "Abdu'r-Rahman, have you not heard the words of God Most High: O Muhammad, share their condition." He continued, "Until the day of resurrection, none of the prophets of God dies without someone else following his path. If the forty Autad scrutinize the hearts of the ten Nukaba, they will certainly kill them; and similarly with the seventy Nujaba if they should scrutinize the forty, they will certainly kill them." Khidir continued, "Abdu'r-Rahman, have you not heard the story of the prophet of God Musa and me?" I asked, "What do you eat?" "Herbs and truffles," he replied. I asked further, "What does Ilias (upon him be peace) eat?" "Two loaves of bread made from coarse flour, each night he eats that," he replied. I inquired, "Where does Ilias (upon him be peace) live?" "On islands," he replied. I further inquired, "Do you ever meet?" He answered, "Indeed, we meet when one of the saints of God dies, we pray for him. When the *hadj* season comes, he trims my hair and I trim his hair." "Will you please mention all the names of those you have mentioned to me?" I asked. He took out a scroll from the sleeve

of his garment on which was written all their names.

Khidir (upon him be peace) rose and I rose with him and he addressed me saying, "Where are you going?" "I wish to go with you," I replied. "You cannot go with me," he said. I asked, "Where do you intend to go?" "Why do you ask me that?" he said. I said, "I wish to pray in the same place as you so that I may obtain a blessing." He replied, "I will go to Makah to perform the dawn prayers; I will sit on a rock beside the Syami pillar until the sun rises; I will perform seven *tawaf* around the Kaabah and I will perform a prayer of two *rakaats* behind the tomb of Ibrahim. Then I will perform the midday prayers in Madinah, the afternoon prayers in Baitulmukadas, the evening prayers on Bukit Tursina and the late night prayers on the wall of Yajuj wa Majuj which has been fortified by Iskandar Zulkarnain; and I will remain there on guard until early morning."

## Story 20

Syekh Bilalu'l-Khawasi (may God be pleased with him) said:

Once upon a time I was wandering in the desert of the Israelites when I suddenly saw a man walking beside me and I was amazed to see him. God (praise be to Him the Most High) whispered in my head that he was Khidir (upon him be peace); I addressed him saying, "By God, who are you?" "Your brother Khidir," he replied. I said to him, "I wish to ask something of you." "Ask what you desire," he commented. I asked, "What is the position of Imam Syafii?" "Imam Syafii is numbered amongst the Autad," he replied. I asked again, "What is the position of Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal?" He replied, "He is a true servant of God." I further inquired, "What is the position of Syahrul-Harath?" He replied, "After God Most High created Syahrul-Harath, He created no further men like him." I asked, "For what reason am I seeing you now?" He replied, "Through the blessing of your mother's prayer."

## Story 21

Imam Ghazali (may God hallow his secret) said:

Once upon a time the prophet of God Musa was going to commune with God on Bukit Tursina when on the way he suddenly met a man who addressed him saying, "Prophet of God Musa, where are you going?" "I am going to Bukit Tursina to commune with God," he replied. The man said, "Prophet of God, I have a request to ask of you, please convey to God that I request an atom of His love."

When the prophet of God reached Bukit Tursina, he communed with God but because of the fervency of his communion forgot the request of the man. God Most High spoke, "Musa, have you forgotten the request of the man to Me?" The prophet Musa replied, "My Lord, You are the One who knows about it." God Most High spoke, "Indeed, but that request was a matter entrusted to you. Whoever does not fulfil a trust, then he is a traitor. I do not love those who are traitors. Musa, I granted his desire at that time." The prophet of God Musa took leave of the Divine Presence and then returned to search for the man who had made the request. But he could not find him at the place. So the prophet of God raised his head to the heavens saying, "My God, where is the man who made the request?" God Most High spoke, "Musa, he has fled from you." The prophet Musa asked, "For what reason?" God Most High spoke, "Whoever loves Me, his heart is not inclined to anyone other than Me, but he is familiar with Me. If you wish to see him, enter the cave in this mountain, he is in it."

The prophet of God Musa entered the cave and there he saw a lion devouring the man. Seeing this, he prayed to the presence of God saying, "My God, what is this?" God Most High spoke, "Musa, this is what I do with my loved ones in this transitory world. See what status he has in the eternal life." The prophet of God Musa raised his head to the

heavens and saw a dome of red jacinths and with several gardens as large as worlds. God spoke, "Musa, this is My gift to the one I love."

- (i) My advice to servants of God is: At every moment and time remember and think of God Most High so that He may place you amongst the wise.

- 303 (ii) A wise man was asked, "When do you think of God?" He replied, "As long as I have loved Him, He has caused the thoughts to be in my heart and love for the world is lost from my heart."

## Story 22

Syekh Abdullah Yafii (may God be pleased with him) said:

Once upon a time there was a pious man who was performing the *tawaf* around the Kaabah when he saw a woman carrying a small child doing likewise, calling out, "O generous One, fulfil Your promise." The man asked her, "Lady, what was the promise between Him and you?" The woman said, "Servant of God, I was on a ship and with me were a number of traders. When the ship was at sea, a storm struck and the ship sank, and of all on board none escaped except for myself and my child. Now at that time my child was on my lap and I was (floating) on a plank.

Early in the morning I saw a black man sitting on another plank, from the same ship; he was paddling with his hands and was approaching me. He brought his plank alongside mine and climbed on it and made advances to me. I said, 'Servant of God, do you not fear God Most High? We are in danger and we cannot hope to escape from it except by being devout to God so we should not be disloyal to Him.' The black man said, 'Lady, do not talk so much. By God, I cannot but do this.' Now at that time my child was asleep

and I pinched it to wake it up. Awaking, the child wept and I said, 'Servant of God, allow me to put my child to sleep and then we can do what God Most High has destined for us.' He was angry, seized my child and cast it into the sea. I gazed up to the sky and said, 'My God, my Lord and my Master, You who can put an obstacle between a man and his heart, my Lord, put an obstacle between myself and this black man with Your ability and power, for You have power over all.'

I had hardly completed my prayer when suddenly a huge fish appeared with its mouth agape, swallowed the black man and submerged. God Most High protected me by His mercy and power and He has power over what He wishes, holy be His name. The waves continued to wash me towards the shore and cast me upon an island. I climbed on to the island saying to myself, 'I shall live on the vegetables and drink the water on this island until my hour of death comes.' I stayed there for four days and I only escaped danger through God Most High.

304

Early on the morning of the fifth day I saw a ship stopping. I climbed to a high place and I waved at it with a cloth. From it came a small boat with three men and I climbed into it. Reaching the ship, I was hoisted on board. Suddenly I saw that my child which the black man had thrown into the sea was at the side of one of those on board. Without delay I took the child and kissed it saying, 'By God, this is my child, of my flesh.' Those on board said, 'Are you mad or seeing visions?' I replied, 'By God, I am neither of these, but my story is this,' and I related my story. Hearing it, they bowed their heads saying, 'Young lady, you have related an amazing story to us and now we will tell you a story that will amaze you. Our ship was sailing before a gentle wind when suddenly by the decree of God Most High, we saw a large fish obstructing our ship and there was a child on its back. We heard a voice saying: Men on board, if you refuse to take this child from the fish's back, we will destroy you. One of us went down, climbed on to the back of the fish, took the child, brought it on board, after which the fish dived

into the sea. We were amazed to see this and to hear what you have related to us. We promised God Most High not to be disobedient to Him.' Whereupon all those on board repented to God Most High."

- (i) My advice for servants of God is: They should fear their Lord in joy and difficulty and should give thanks for their Lord's pleasures. Trust and have patience when afflictions strike and trust in your Lord so that He may deliver you from the dangers of this world and the next.
  - (ii) As God Most High says in the Quran, "Whoever fears God, God Most High will make his undertakings easy."
  - (iii) And as the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, "If there is difficulty in a place, ease will certainly enter it until the difficulty is dislodged."
- 305

### Story 23

The story goes:

In former times there was a young man of the Israelites who was very handsome and whose work was selling baskets. Once upon a time he was selling these baskets in every corner of the country when a woman emerged from the king's palace who caught sight of the man selling baskets. She immediately returned and presented herself to the daughter of the king saying, "Your majesty, I have seen a handsome young man and I have never seen any man more handsome than this man who was selling baskets." Hearing the woman's words, the princess ordered the basket-seller to be summoned and the woman went to summon him. When he entered the princess' palace, she ordered the door to be closed. She took him through a second and then a third door, ordering all the doors to be closed. Then the princess came before the man uncovering her head and breasts.

Seeing the princess the young man said, "Buy my baskets, whichever one you like." "I have not called you to buy baskets but so that we can enjoy ourselves," exclaimed the princess. "Fear God Most High," replied the young man. "If you refuse my desires, I will inform the king, my father, that you entered my palace intending to be traitorous," said the princess. Several times the young man gave advice to the princess but she would not accept it. "Please give me water so that I may perform my ablutions," asked the young man. The princess retorted, "You are trying to trick me and back out." But the princess said to her servant, "Give this young man water, take him to the top of the palace where he cannot run away."

The story continues: Now the palace was forty cubits high and the young man climbed to the top of the palace saying, "My God, my Lord and my Master, this woman has called me to disobey You. I should like to throw myself off this palace but I refuse to be disloyal to You." Saying, "In God's name," he threw himself from the palace.

306

Then God (praise be to Him the Most High) sent an angel to catch him and set him on the ground. Standing he said, "My God, if You wish to grant sustenance to Your servant who has tirelessly sold baskets, grant it." God sent down to him some gold locusts. These were collected by the young man until his *sarung* was full, whereupon he exclaimed, "My God, when by Your desire You granted Your servant sustenance in this world, You bestowed a blessing upon me. But if my sustenance in Your presence will be diminished, then I do not want this sustenance."

Suddenly he heard a hidden voice saying to him, "Sir, what We granted you was a twenty fifth of the reward for your patience when you sacrificed yourself by leaping from that palace." The young man said, "My God, I do not wish for that which will diminish my reward in Your presence in the future life." The gold locusts which were in his *sarung* flew away.



The angel asked the devil, "Devil, why did you not lead the young man astray?" He replied, "How could I lead a man astray who would destroy himself for God Most High."

- (i) My advice for servants of God is that they should draw a moral on hearing this story and should keep themselves from disobeying their Lord.
- (ii) As God Most High says in the Quran, "Be patient, but your patience is only by the help of God."
- (iii) As God says in a divine saying, "I send My servant an affliction, and he prays to me but I delay in accepting his prayer and he complains to me. I say, 'My servant, I am merciful towards you by sending you afflictions.'"

#### Story 24

The story goes:

Once upon a time the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) was wandering when he met a man who said, "Prophet of God, I wish to accompany you." The prophet of God said, "I agree." The story continues: Now at that time the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) had three loaves of bread. The two went together until they came to a river when the prophet of God said, "Sir, let us eat this bread." The two ate a loaf each and one remained. Having eaten the bread, the prophet of God went to the river to drink some water.

When the prophet of God returned to the man, he saw that the remaining bread had gone and inquired, "Sir, who has taken the bread?" "I do not know where it has gone," said the man. They both left the place and came to a place where the prophet of God saw a deer followed by two kids. The prophet of God called a kid and when it came, he slaughtered it whilst they both prayed over it. Having eaten the deer

meat, the prophet of God said to the remaining meat, "Arise by the permission of God to whom belong glory and majesty." The kid then arose; returned to its mother and the prophet of God Isa said to the man, "Sir, I ask you by the greatness of God who has shown you this marvel, who ate the loaf?" "Prophet of God, I do not know," replied the man.

They walked on until they came to a country and they were both hungry. Seeing an ox tied up, the prophet of God slaughtered it and they both roasted it and ate the meat. After they had both eaten, the oxherd returned searching for his ox and when he saw that it had been slaughtered by two men, he shouted, "Men, look at these thieves, they have eaten my ox." People gathered to look at them both. Seeing them watching, the prophet of God Isa said, "Ox, arise by the permission of God to whom belong glory and majesty." The ox arose and the prophet of God addressed the oxherd saying, "We have thought of future hospitality, so why do you accuse me of stealing your ox? Here it is." "This is a truly magical man," commented the people.

They both walked on taking the ox and the prophet of God inquired, "Sir, I ask you by the greatness of God who has shown you this marvel, tell me, who ate the loaf?" "Prophet of God, I do not know who ate it," he replied. They both walked on until they came to a desert. There they stopped and the prophet of God collected three heaps of sand which the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) addressed saying, "Sand, become gold." By the permission of God (praise be to Him the Most High), the three heaps became gold and the prophet of God Isa spoke, "One heap is for me, one is for you and the third is for the man who ate the loaf." "Prophet of God, I ate the loaf," said the man. Hearing this the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) said, "Take all of it," and parting from him, walked on alone leaving the man in that place.

Then two men came upon the man with the gold and they wished to kill him but he said, "Sir, take the gold, we will

308

divide it into three parts, but do not kill me." They agreed and he suggested, "Let one of you go to the city to buy food for I have been hungry for some time." One man then went to the city and on arrival said to himself, "Why should I give them both any gold? I should kill them both by putting poison into the food." At the same time the other two changed their minds saying, "Why should we share this gold with him. When he returns we will kill him." The man returned bringing the food mixed with poison which he offered to them both. They both killed the man who brought the food and then ate the poisoned food and thus all three died around the gold. Presently the prophet of God returned with his companions to the place where the gold was and the prophet of God Isa commented, "This is the world, all of you should remember this."

- (i) My advice for the wise is: He should not be inclined to love this transitory world but should neglect it.
- (ii) As God Most High says in the Quran, "Your wealth and your children are only a temptation."
- (iii) And the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, "If a son of Adam were to possess two valleys of riches, he would long for a third; the desires of a son of Adam can only be filled with dust. God Most High receives him who repents."

## Story 25

Syckh Muhammad anak Abu Bakar (may God bless him) said:

One day a woman approached the Apostle of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) saying, "Apostle of God, I have committed a great sin, punish me." "Repent to God Most High," said the Prophet of God. She said, "Prophet of God, the earth knows of my sin for I committed it on the earth and on the day of resurrection it will bear witness

against me." The Prophet of God commented, "The earth will not bear witness against you for God says in the Quran: On the day of resurrection this earth will be changed into another earth."

309 The woman said, "Prophet of God, the sky knows of my sin for it was above me and on the day of resurrection it will bear witness against me." The Prophet of God commented, "God Most High will roll up the sky as God Most High says in the Quran: On the day of resurrection We will roll up the sky as a written scroll." The woman said, "Prophet of God, the guardian angels have noted my sin in their records," The Prophet of God said, "God Most High says in the Quran: Good deeds drive away the evil ones." He continued, "One who repents of his sin is like one who has no sin."

The woman said, "Prophet of God, the angels saw my deed and will bear witness against my evil deeds on the day of resurrection." He said, "God Most High will think no more of the recording angels on the day of resurrection," and he continued, "When a servant repents to God Most High, God Most High accepts his repentance and He thinks no more of the deeds noted by the recording angels. God Most High will say to the earth and to its members: Conceal yourself from evil." The woman said, "Apostle of God, I can accept that what you say is a right for all who repent, but I will blush and be filled with shame towards God Most High upon the day of resurrection. However I am strengthened by your words: On the day of resurrection those who have sinned will recall their sins and will be filled with shame towards God Most High until they begin to sweat because of the extent of their shame. For some the sweat will reach their knees, for others it will reach their waist and for others it will reach their throat."

The Prophet also said, "Believers, be aware of the day of resurrection and do not neglect it. Repent to God Most High and humble yourself before Him, for God Most High will accept the repentance of His servant and is merciful."

## Story 26

The story goes:

310 Syekh Fudail ibn Iyyas (may God be pleased with him) was the leader of a band of robbers. One night he went out to rob with his companions and he had a servant with him. Whilst wandering, weariness overcame his eyes and he wanted to sleep. So he ordered his servant to take his head in his lap and he fell asleep. Presently a caravan came. When it came to where the robbers were, they all stopped there and said to themselves, "Fudail is here with his companions what shall we do?" Three of them suggested, "If you allow us, we will each go and shoot an arrow at him once. If he is hit that is what we want, if not, we will return."

They then left and one of them shot an arrow reciting this verse, "Has not the time of fear come to those who believe in God Most High and His Messenger, for they should remember God and accept the truth revealed by Him." Hearing the verse, Fudail shrieked saying, "Oh, oh," and fell in a faint. His servant thought that his master had been shot and searched for a wound on his body but found none. When he regained consciousness he said, "My servant, I have been shot by God Most High." The second of them shot reciting this verse, "Flee unto God, for truly I am a clear warner." Hearing this verse, Fudail shrieked louder than before and once again his servant searched for a wound on his master's body, but found none. Fudail said to his servant, "My servant, I have been shot by God Most High."

The third of them shot reciting this verse, "Return to your Lord performing acts of devotion and estrange yourself from doing evil. Do good works with sincerity before punishment overcomes you; for you will not be helped to overcome that punishment." Hearing the verse, Fudail shrieked even louder than before and said to his servant and companions, "Return

all of you, I regret my former actions in disobeying God. I will leave behind all my former deeds."

Fudail then went to Makah and arrived at a country called Nahrawan; there he met Raja Harun ar-Rasyid who said to him, "Fudail, I was dreaming of you when it seemed as if a loud voice was saying: Fudail fears God Most High and has chosen to pay his devotions to God Most High, and We are merciful towards him." Hearing this Fudail shrieked loudly saying, "My Lord, through Your honour and greatness You are merciful towards Your sinful servant even though I have been running from You for about forty years."

- 311 (i) My advice to believers who are inattentive is: They should not neglect the passions of the world in this short life, for your Lord is always watching over you with sympathy. Distressed people, why do you always turn your face from His presence? Seek a remedy for your suffering and may God grant it to you.
- (ii) As God Most High says in the Quran, "Is he not then he whose heart God has opened for the acceptance of Islam ( that is, he who has taken the right path)? He possesses a light from his Lord."
- (iii) When the companions heard this verse, they asked, "Apostle of God, how can a heart be opened for the acceptance of Islam?" He replied, "When light enters the heart, it opens." "And what is the sign of that?" they asked. He replied, "Return to the eternal abode by paying your devotions with sincerity and estrange yourself from careless thoughts and prepare yourself for death."

## Story 27

The story goes:

There was once a Kadi of Makah called Nuh ibn Mariam who was a vizier in Khurasani and was very wealthy. He had a daughter who was very beautiful and was discriminating in her words. The great, wise and rich men in the land sought her hand but she would accept none. The Kadi was disconcerted as to whom he should bestow her on. He thought to himself, "If I marry my daughter to one, another will certainly be displeased with me."

Now this Kadi had an Indian servant called Mubarak who was a Muslim and feared God Most High. The Kadi also owned a vineyard with its fruit. One day the Kadi said to his servant, "Mubarak, go to the vineyard and keep watch over the fruit in it." Mubarak went to the vineyard and took care of the fruit for about two months. One day the Kadi came to the vineyard and said, "Mubarak, bring me a bunch of grapes." Mubarak brought one and the Kadi ate them but found them sour. The Kadi then said, "Mubarak, bring me another bunch." He brought another but the grapes were equally sour, so the Kadi asked, "Mubarak, why do you bring me sour grapes?" "Master, I cannot tell the sweet grapes from the sour," he replied.

The Kadi exclaimed, "God be praised, I am astonished at your words, have you not been looking after the vines for two months and yet you still cannot tell the sweet from the sour?" He answered, "Master, by God, I have eaten none of them and so I cannot tell the sweet from the sour." "Why have you not eaten any of them?" the Kadi asked. He replied, "Master, you ordered me to look after the vines and I did not want to betray your trust." The Kadi was astonished at his words saying, "Mubarak, I have conceived an affection for you and it is right that you should do what I order." "Master, I obey the commands of God Most High and I follow

your orders," he said.

The Kadi then said, "My servant, you know that I have a beautiful daughter. There have been many great, wise and noble men who have sought her hand but I have not granted her to any of them and I do not know to whom I should marry her. What do you say?" He replied, "Master, the unbelievers of former times desired nobility of descent and wisdom. The Jews and Christians desire good conduct and beauty. In the time of our Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), they desired those who were religious and feared God Most High. In these days they desire wealth. Choose whichever of these four you desire." The Kadi said, "My servant, I have made my choice and chosen a religious man who fears God Most High and is trustworthy; I want you to marry my daughter because you have a pious nature, fear God Most High and are religious." Mubarak exclaimed, "Master, I am a black Indian servant whom you have bought with your money; how can you marry me to your daughter, and would she accept me?" The Kadi suggested, "Let us go to my house so that we can discuss this."

313

Mubarak went to the house with his master. Upon their arrival, the Kadi said to his wife, "You know that our servant is religious and fears God Most High. I have conceived an affection for him because he is pious and virtuous. Now I want to marry him to my daughter, what do you say?" "Whatever you desire is acceptable to me," his wife replied. "Go and ask our daughter so that I may hear her reply," the Kadi asked. His wife went to her daughter and conveyed her husbands words. Her daughter said, "Mother, whatever you and father advise I will follow. I will not infringe God's decrees and will not disobey my father and my mother in any matter." The Kadi then married his daughter to his servant Mubarak and gave them much wealth. By the will of God Most High after some time the daughter of the Kadi became pregnant and gave birth to a son called Abdullah; his name is celebrated and well-known throughout the world and Abdullah ibn Mubarak Alim was



devout, generous and related *hadith* (may God be pleased with him). God willing, we will relate more stories about him in the book concerning the generous.

## Story 28

Munim ibn Idris (may God bless him) said:

One day I went to Kaabu'l-Ahbari and addressed him saying, "Abu Ishak, relate to me a story which you have heard or seen amongst the Israelites." And he related as follows:

There was a very wealthy merchant amongst the Israelites whose wife was very beautiful, very wise, feared God (praise be to Him the Most High) and was loyal to her husband; she was called Husna. Now her husband was jealous and trusted no one. Once upon a time he was setting off on a trading journey and as he had no family except a full brother, he called him saying, "My brother, you know that I love my wife and she loves me also. I am now going on a trading journey and there is none I can trust except you my full brother; look after her and take care of her after my departure. Do not allow anyone to convey anything to her except through the window, for you know that the devil is the enemy of men." His brother replied, "My brother, do not ask me to do this." "God Most High will protect both of you," said the merchant.

314

After this the merchant left and his brother followed his instructions. Every day he inquired after her at his brother's door greeting her saying, "Peace be upon you, O occupant of the house, is there anything you require?" This he did each day. One day he came, called out but there was no reply. Now at that time the merchant's wife was bathing. He climbed through the window of the house and entering saw her bathing naked. Seeing him Husna covered her body with her long hair; but seeing her the merchant's brother was

filled with desire for her and became like a madman, saying to his sister-in-law, "Husna, I have never seen a woman more beautiful than you." She replied, "Servant of God, there are many women more beautiful than me; if you search, you will certainly find one in this land."

The story goes: He left the house but his heart was captivated by his sister-in-law. He gathered a number of procuresses and gave them all money saying, "Ladies, find me a woman who looks like Husna." All went to search for such a woman, but found none. They all returned saying, "We have searched for a woman who looks like Husna but have found none." During the middle of the night when people were asleep, he went to Husna's house and entered it. He woke her and said, "Husna, I ordered procuresses to search for a woman like you but they could find none." "Servant of God, what do you want?" she asked. "I want what men want from women," he replied. She said, "Fear God (praise be to Him the Most High) and the punishments of hell; your brother is my husband and he has entrusted me to you, and this is what you desire? If anyone else wanted to do it, you should be the one to prevent him."

315 The man said, "Husna, what we do will not be known by my brother as he is away and cannot see us or hear our words." Husna replied, "Servant of God, your brother may be absent but God (praise be to Him the Most High) is present and knows about us. Fear God Most High and estrange yourself from the devil." "Can you not agree to my desires?" he asked. Husna said, "I refuse to betray my husband and I will never be disobedient to the creative God, to Him I surrender myself, do whatever you wish." The man did not achieve what he intended, and he left the house and returned home. When daylight came he went to the market and bought food and fine clothes. He summoned four old men and feasted them, gave them fine clothes and honoured them. He then addressed them saying, "Sirs, I have a great favour to ask of you." They replied, "Whatever you wish we will certainly carry it out." He said, "It is this: I have a

sister-in-law called Husna whom I saw committing adultery with a man, but I have no witnesses. I wish you to become witnesses and to go with me to the Kadi." "We will give evidence to the Kadi with you even if it is false," they replied.

The man set off to the Kadi and on arrival greeted him, and sat down before him saying, "Kadi of the Muslims, I have a request to ask of you." "What is it?" he asked. The man replied, "I have a sister-in-law called Husna whom I saw committing adultery with a man." "Have you witnesses to this?" inquired the Kadi. "Certainly, four old men," he replied. "Call them all," ordered the Kadi and the man went to summon them. On their arrival the Kadi greeted them saying, "What do you know of this wife?" They replied, "Kadi of the Muslims, we saw her committing adultery with a man." "Sit down, I will order them to summon the woman," said the Kadi. This he did and a man went and the woman did not know what had occurred.

316

The Kadi's messenger arrived and said, "Husna, you are immediately summoned by the Kadi." She said, "Do you not fear God Most High in forcefully summoning me, for I fear Him and would not sin? No one has entered my house." The Kadi's messenger retorted, "I will have to force you." He tied a rope round her neck, dragged her through the market, and the people watched for they had never before seen a woman being dragged in such a manner with her head uncovered. Arriving before the Kadi, she greeted him and shrieked, "Kadi of the Muslims, have you seen what I have done? I am a woman who fears God Most High and no one has entered or left my house." The Kadi asked, "Woman, do you not fear God Most High that you should betray your husband?" She replied, "By God, I have not betrayed my husband nor been disobedient to God Most High." The Kadi summoned the witnesses and her husband's brother, they came and the Kadi inquired of them, "What do you know about this woman?" They replied, "We saw her committing adultery with a man whilst her husband is on a sea voyage."

The Kadi said, "Treacherous woman, listen; what is your reply?" She replied, "I surrender myself to whatever God Most High decrees." He said, "You must be stoned until you die." Addressing the witnesses and the man, the Kadi said, "Witnesses, you must bear this woman's sin; free me of it." The Kadi ordered the people of the land to be summoned saying, "People, gather together all of you and attend, men, women, ordinary and important people, all should attend." This was announced and all gathered together. Then Husna was brought to the place for stoning and the people came to the Kadi to look at Husna, some said, "It is better that she should die rather than live," and others said, "It is a pity that she should die." The Kadi ordered that stones should be collected and a hole should be dug. This was done and then the Kadi ordered that she should be put into the hole and she was buried up to her knees. The Kadi addressed the brother of Husna's husband and the witnesses saying, "All of you, I am not bearing the responsibility for whether this woman sinned or not; on your head be it. You sir must be the first to stone her and then the witnesses."

317

The Kadi took a small stone and when he was about to stone her with it, he wept out of pity as he looked on her and then he threw it. He addressed the people saying, "Stone her." They stoned her from all directions and blood streamed down her face. When the Kadi saw that the woman had been stoned, that her flesh was torn from her body and that her veins were visible, he thought that she was dead. He then said to the people, "Do not stone her, take her out of the hole." She was taken out and was cast into the common burial ground. When the women of Israel heard this news, they all feared for themselves. Night came and the dogs and wild beasts approached smelling Husna's blood. God Most High ordered the angels to protect her from the beasts until dawn came. A wind called Tiah blew over her body, and she regained consciousness and taking a breath, shrieked, "Why was I stoned when I had not sinned?"

Now that burial ground was at the side of the main thoroughfare, and a bedouin on a camel passed with his servant. When he approached he could hear groaning, and he stopped and said to his servant, "Did you hear what I heard?" "I also heard the sound of someone groaning. In my view it is someone in a faint who has been left for dead and may have now recovered," replied the servant. The bedouin said to him, "My servant, wait here for me whilst I go to see; watch what I do, and if there is any danger, come and help me." He then went and followed the voice until he came to the burial place where he saw a woman sprawled out. He pushed her with his foot saying, "Who are you, are you a spirit or a corpse?" She replied, "O you who have come to me, give me a mouthful of water, so that on the day of resurrection God Most High may grant you water by His power." The bedouin commented, "Lady, in my view you are the woman who is said to have committed adultery." The woman said, "Certainly, I am as you say, but by God I did not commit adultery; I have neither been disobedient to the Lord who created me, nor betrayed my husband. Give me a mouthful of water."

318

The bedouin called out to his servant and he replied saying, "Here I am," and came. The bedouin addressed him, "My servant, this is the woman we have heard about," and continued, "She is asking for water to drink." The servant said, "Give it to her so that God Most High may grant you water from the holy stream Kauthar." Without delay the bedouin offered her cool water and she said, "Servant of God, my flesh is not whole and I have no strength in my hands and feet." "How can I give you the drink then?" asked the bedouin. Husna suggested, "Servant of God, lift up my head and then you can pour the water into my mouth." This he did until her thirst was quenched and she had regained her strength and said, "Servant of God, do you wish to gain a great reward from God?" "How can I gain this reward?" he asked. She replied, "Take me with you; if I die you will gain great reward, and if I live I will certainly serve you for my whole life."

The bedouin inquired of his servant, "My servant, what is your opinion?" He replied, "We should do it for it is the greatest benefit from trading that we could get." The man went to collect his camel and then the bedouin said, "My servant, you take her feet and I will take her head." They both lifted her onto the saddle of the camel and wrapped her in a cloth so that the blood stains should not be seen. He set off walking with her to his estate, arrived there during the afternoon and took her down from the camel into his house. Seeing the woman his wife asked, "My husband, what is this woman for? Is she to be my co-wife?" He replied, "By God, I wish no evil for this woman but her story is the most amazing I have heard." He told her about it and commented, "I have only brought her in order to gain great reward. If she lives, she will certainly serve us and if she dies, we will gain great reward." His wife said, "My husband, if what you say is true, I will certainly take care of her with you." The bedouin said, "By God, I have not brought this woman for the sake of my desires but for God."

319

The bedouin's wife was pleased with her husband's words and straightway gave food and medicine to the woman and spread out a mat. She summoned a physician and paid for him. The physician treated her for several days and Husna recovered from her wounds and regained her former looks. Seeing her beautiful appearance, the bedouin was filled with desire for her and said, "Husna, I wish to marry you." Husna said, "Servant of God, I have a husband; he is absent and has not yet returned." The bedouin asked, "Husna, can you fulfil my desires?" "Sir, do you want to lose the reward that you have stored up with God (praise be to Him the Most High)? Remember your promise to God Most High and do not make your goodness to be in vain by this deed; for these are the desires of the flesh and their result will be disobedience to God," she replied.

The story goes: The bedouin then remembered his promise to God (praise be to Him the Most High), God Most High removed his lust and he repented to Him, and God Most High delivered

him from Iblis who had tempted him and said, "Husna, I bear witness to you before God Most High that you are as forbidden to me as my mother." Husna said, "I have a favour to ask of you." "What is it?" he asked. She replied, "Please give me your child, I will take care of him." This he did and she took care of the child. Whenever she had performed acts of devotion to God Most High, she carried the bedouin's child and played with him until she lost her sadness for her husband and also forgot the stoning, praising God and giving many thanks.

Now the bedouin's servant, whenever he entered the house, looked at Husna's face but she would turn away; this happened for some time. Once upon a time when the servant entered his master's house, he saw Husna drinking water. He gazed upon her but she did not notice him. He was filled with desire seeing her beauty and said, "Husna, my heart has become enraptured with you." She asked. "What do you desire by talking so?" He replied, "I desire you." "Do you not fear God? Do not speak to me, if I wished to marry someone, I would certainly find someone better than you," Husna retorted. The servant said, "By God, Husna, if you refuse my desire, I will certainly bring terrible disgrace upon you." She said, "I refuse to marry a black servant, to be disobedient to the Lord who created me and to betray my husband. I will never do what you desire, for God Most High will protect me from your wiles, He will take care of me and I surrender to Him."

320

The story goes: The servant went out from the house bearing malice, plagued by the devil desiring to kill Husna. One night he entered his master's house and found Husna asleep with the bedouin's child in her arms. He drew his knife, killed the child, smeared the blood over Husna's body and placed the knife under her pillow. Husna was unaware of what the servant had done. When daylight came, the bedouin awoke and noticed blood stains sprinkled around. He entered Husna's bedroom, saw that she was asleep, that his child had been killed and that Husna's body was smeared with

blood. The bedouin woke her and exclaimed, "May the wrath of God be upon you, is this your return for my kindness to you and my spending money on you? Now you return it with this?"

Husna awoke from her sleep and was unaware of what had occurred. The bedouin wept to see his child in such a condition and Husna also wept greatly saying, "Sir, which is the greater sin, committing adultery or killing a human being? When you wanted to commit adultery with me I refused, so how could I kill your child? Do I not fear God (praise be to Him the Most High) and you? By God, I have not done anything like this." The bedouin said, "Husna, by God, I do not want to keep you in my house even if you did not kill my child for I do not know the truth of the matter; but women lack intelligence and are of weak faith. Be gone from my house. I will give you money for your provisions; I do not wish to see you because of the death of my child." He gave her five hundred *dinar* and clothes and then turned her out of his house.

321

Having left, Husna did not know where to go, so she began to walk. On the way she fell in with a group of people and accompanied them until they came to a country of the Israelite people. There she saw people gathered together watching a man being impaled alive. Husna asked them, "What is the crime of the young man being impaled?" They replied, "The man was administering the king's money and he has misappropriated it all. He will not be freed until this money is repaid." "How much is this money?" asked Husna. They replied, "Four hundred *dirham*." She exclaimed, "You will kill a Muslim for four hundred *dirham*?" They replied, "Certainly, we cannot do other than kill him." Husna gave four hundred *dirham* saying, "Cease impaling him."

Husna walked on, the *dirhams* were taken and the man was released. Freed, the young man asked, "My people, who has enabled me to escape from death and has delivered me from punishment? Show me so that I may repay him with goodness."



They replied, "The lady who is walking over there is the one who has enabled you to escape death and has delivered you from punishment." He followed her saying, "Pious lady, will you wait for me?" She stood waiting for him and he said, "Are you the one who has enabled me to escape death, paid my debt of four hundred *dirham* and delivered me from torment?" "Certainly, I paid your debt," said Husna. "I give my thanks to you and I wish to repay your goodness," said the man. "Go wherever you wish," commented Husna. The man insisted, "I wish to serve you." Husna said, "Servant of God, I do not wish to be served, nor do I wish for any reward from you."

322 The story goes: Hearing her words the man returned but his heart was filled with desire for her, his passions overcame him and the devil exerted strong force over him. He pursued her saying, "Husna, take me as your husband." Husna replied, "Servant of God, I still have a husband." The man insisted, "Husna, agree to my request." Husna retorted, "Servant of God, are these improper words your return to me? Do you not fear God Most High?" The man threatened, "If you do not accept my request, I will force you." As he tried to catch Husna, she prayed to God (praise be to Him the Most High) saying, "My Lord, grant me strength to oppose this man." Having said this prayer, she seized the man and threw him to the ground. Realising that he could not oppose her, he said, "By God, Husna, I will destroy you." He pursued her until she came to the seashore and there she stopped. Now the man noticed a sailing ship and he waved to it shouting out loudly, "Men on board, bring your ship near."

Hearing his shouts some said, "That man wants to say something to us." Those on board brought a small boat to the shore. Now at that time Husna was tired after walking and was resting so she was unaware of what the man was doing. When the small boat reached the shore, the man climbed into it and the small boat returned to the ship. On his arrival the man greeted them and they returned his greeting. They asked him, "Sir, who are you and what do you desire?"

He replied, "Sirs, I am a prince, my father died and left me great wealth but I have spent all this money and I have nothing left except a female servant. Now I wish to sell her." They censured this prince who because of his poverty was now forced to sell his beautiful beloved servant and the merchants on board asked, "Prince, where is your servant now?" He replied, "It is the woman who is sitting by the seashore. If you wish to buy her, let us go and see her, but do not inform her that I am selling her."

The merchant went ashore with several men and when they came to her, they drew back her headcloth. The man commented, "Merchants, look at her beauty." One of them came forward, looked at her beauty, summoned his fellow merchants and when they came said, "Sirs, I have never seen a woman of this beauty." The merchants outbid each other until they reached four hundred *dirham* and one of them bought her.

323 The seller said, "I sell this servant to you on one condition." They asked, "What is this condition?" He said, "Do not take her back to the ship until I have left for she loves me so much that if she knew I had sold her, she would certainly kill herself." He then took the money and left; now the man's evil deed was unknown to Husna.

After the man had vanished from sight, the merchant said, "Husna, let us go to the ship." Husna exclaimed, "Why should I go to the ship?" "I have bought you from your master," the merchant replied. Husna said, "Servant of God, I am a servant of no one except God." When the merchant saw that she was refusing to go, he called his friends, they came and he addressed them, "Please help me to take this servant to the ship." They carried her off to the ship. When night came, the merchant touched Husna and she cursed him. By the decree of God Most High, his hand became paralyzed and he shouted out, "My friends, please help me." They were all startled and asked him, "What did you do to her?" "I touched her hand and mine became paralyzed," he said. The merchant gave four hundred *dinar* saying, "I am freeing you because of God." Husna prayed to God Most High, the merchant's hand

was healed and they all slept.

Early in the morning all the merchants went ashore to perform their ablutions and Husna accompanied them. When the merchants saw her beauty, they desired her and Husna was taken back on board. Another merchant approached and threw himself upon her and she shrieked for help saying, "Men on board, please help me," but no one helped her. Husna then raised her arms to the heavens saying, "O you who help all who complain to Your presence, rescue me from these people and from what they desire of Your servant." By the decree of God Most High, a strong storm arose, lightning struck and the sea swelled up. They all desired death to escape danger.

324

When the storm struck the ship, they were all blown away and none remained. Seeing this, Husna dressed as a man, wore a sword from her shoulder and sitting in the bows of the ship said, "As God wills, for He wills nothing that does not come into existence and there is no power and no strength save in God the Most High, the Almighty." By the decree of God Most High, the storm quietened, the ship reached a shore and suddenly a country of the Israelites could be seen. People from that country came to the ship and they saw that there was no one on board except one man, so they addressed him saying, "Sir, bring your merchandise and we will buy." Husna asked them, "Is there a king in this country?" "Certainly, there is," they replied. She said, "I wish to present all my merchandise to the king; what remains you may buy," and she continued, "Whilst I go before the king, wait in my ship and take care of the riches in it until my return." They agreed.

She went to a vizier and greeted him and he asked her, "What do you desire?" "I wish to go before the king," she replied. He took her to the king's gate-keepers and they asked, "What do you desire?" "Please convey my presence to the lord of the universe," she pleaded. This they did and the king invited her to enter. She entered wearing her sword and

coming before the king greeted him. Seeing her beauty and bearing, he asked, "Where are you from?" She replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, I was sailing on board a ship from such-and-such a land when suddenly a storm struck and all on board were blown away, none remained except me and the riches on board. No one owns these riches now except you, lord of the universe, it is fitting that you should take them. Order some men to accompany me in order to collect the riches." When the king heard her words, he was astonished at them and at her beauty. The king set off to the shore with his followers, went on board the ship and took the riches. The king returned to his palace delighted, but he was unaware that Husna was a woman. He gave her a house and means of support, and she lived in it performing acts of devotion to God (praise be to Him the Most High).

325

The story goes: Now it was the custom of the king of that country to utter the oration every Friday. Seeing the intensity with which Husna performed her acts of devotion to God Most High and her good sense, whenever there was a difficult problem, the king came to deliberate with her. He then made her his vizier and preacher and she uttered the oration every Friday. After some time the king became seriously ill and his viziers said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, we ask for someone you trust to protect us all." The king announced, "There is none fitted to protect you all except this pious young man." Afterwards the king ordered her to be summoned and a messenger left. Coming before the king, she paid obeisance and greeted him. The king said to her, "Young man, I am seriously ill and who knows the decree of God Most High for me, now I am making you my successor to protect my people." She replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, I obey your highness' command." She took her leave and returned to her house to perform acts of devotion to God (praise be to Him the Most High). After several days the king died and the viziers came to Husna saying, "Sir, our king has returned to God's mercy, now you are his successor." "I accept that,"

she said.

The story goes: Husna then became king in that country; she was very pious and her prayers were effective. It was her custom to summon the sick every Friday at midday and they would come before her with their illnesses. She would then set off for the Friday prayers, and when they were over, she would offer up prayers to God Most High and their illnesses would be cured thanks to her prayers. News of this spread to every country and all the sick came and reported their illnesses. Then the king would pray to God (praise be to Him the Most High) for them and their illnesses would be cured.

326

The story goes: Meanwhile all those who had betrayed Husna had incurred afflictions from God. Husna's husband returned home from his voyage, entered his house and found his brother alone, but could not see his wife. He said, "My brother, where is my beloved wife? I do not see her in this house; and why are you blind and afflicted by a skin disease?" He said, "My brother do not mention your wife's name, for she committed adultery after you left. I took her to the Kadi and he condemned her to be stoned to death." Husna's husband said, "Show me her grave." He replied, "Her body was cast out and has been eaten by dogs and wild beasts." Hearing his brother's words, he was very sad and said, "My brother, I have much wealth and there is none fit to receive it except you. May God cure your illness, this is the money for you." He then summoned several physicians and they treated him with several kinds of medicines but these gave no benefit to him. One of them told him of a country whose king was pious and very effective in his prayers to God Most High; and he wished to take his brother to that king. News of this reached the four old men who had been cursed by God Most High for giving false evidence and they went to Husna's husband and said, "Husband of Husna, we also wish to accompany you so that God Most High may cure our illness." Husna's husband set off with them and his brother. When they arrived at the country of the bedouin who had taken

care of Husna, by the decree of God Most High they met him, and his servant had been afflicted by a skin disease. The bedouin asked, "Where are you all going?" "We are going to a pious king whose prayers are very effective; we hope that our illnesses may be cured thanks to his prayers," they replied. The bedouin said, "If so, I will accompany you with my servant."

327 They walked on from there until they came to the country of the man who had been impaled, and that man was seriously ill. Now the man had a mother and father and they did not know how to cure their son. By the decree of God Most High, the man met them and when he inquired, they said, "We wish to go to the pious king whose prayers are accepted." Hearing this he said, "If so, I also wish to accompany you; may God Most High cure my illness through his prayers." He walked on with them all for several days until they reached the pious king on a Friday. Raja Husna recognized them but they did not recognize her. Husna's husband, the merchant said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, please pray to God Most High that my brother's illness and those with me may be healed." Raja Husna said, "God willing, next Friday I will pray for you all." When the following Friday came, they presented themselves before Raja Husna awaiting the appointed time. She set off to the mosque and took their places. Raja Husna mounted the pulpit to utter the oration after which the community performed their prayers and then all rose to go before Raja Husna.

Seeing them, Raja Husna mounted the pulpit once again and her husband said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, please pray for my brother." "Certainly, sir, do you love your brother?" inquired Husna of him. He replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, I love him." Raja Husna said, "He does not love you," and continued, "Sir, you must know that God (praise be to Him the Most High) does not allow my prayers to be effective until you tell me the reason why he has incurred God's wrath and this illness. If you relate his sin truthfully, I will pray to God Most High and

then He will certainly heal you of this illness." Husna's husband addressed his brother, "My brother, inform the lord of the universe of your sin truthfully." He said, "My brother, I incurred the wrath of God Most High because of your wife Husna. Whilst you were away, you left me to protect her in all things, but you were long in returning. One day I went to your door and I shouted to Husna but there was no reply, so I shouted for a second and then a third time but there was still no reply. So I climbed through the window into the house and searched for her in every room but could not find her. I entered the back verandah, saw her bathing naked and was astonished at her beauty. I addressed her improperly, but she refused me, I said to her, 'If you refuse me, I will certainly kill you and I will afflict you with great torment.' She said, 'Do what you wish, but I refuse to betray my husband and disobey the Lord who created me. Be gone from here, and look for a woman more beautiful than me.'

328

Hearing her words, I left the house and summoned a number of procuresses, gave them some money and instructed them to search for a woman like Husna. They all went to search for such a woman for some time, but found none. In the middle of the night I returned to her and said, 'Husna, I have ordered women to search for some days but they have found none like you.' She replied as she had formerly replied and I left the house plagued by the devil. I summoned four old men and feasted them with food and drink, gave them fine clothes and some money. When they were about to leave, I said, 'Sirs, I have a great favour to ask of you.' They replied, 'Young man, what is it? Tell us so that we may carry it out.' I said, 'In that case, accompany me to the Kadi.' Then we all went to him, I said that your wife Husna had committed adultery, and they bore false evidence to my words. Hearing the witnesses' words, the Kadi ordered your wife to be stoned and she died. My brother, that is the sin I committed and at that moment I incurred the wrath of God Most High until today."

Whilst he was relating this to his brother, Raja Husna listened to him. Husna's husband said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, you know his sin, now pray to God Most High that He may cure his illness thanks to your prayer." Raja Husna prayed for his recovery and God returned him to his former health. When Husna's husband saw that his brother was healed, he offered some riches but she said, "Merchant, what use are your riches to me?" Then the riches were returned to him.

329

The four men then came forward and said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, we have come to petition you to pray that God Most High may cure our illness." Raja Husna asked, "What is your story?" They replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, our story is very bad." Husna ordered them, "Acknowledge your sins to me so that I may pray to God Most High for your recovery." They said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, we gave false evidence to the Kadi about the woman called Husna who has been mentioned to you by this man. Hearing our evidence, the Kadi condemned her to be stoned and we stoned her. After her death she was cast into the common burial ground. We returned to our own homes and on that day we incurred the wrath of God Most High until today." Husna said to her husband, "Merchant, do you forgive the sins of those who did wrong to your wife?" "Your majesty, lord of the universe, I forgive them and I am patiently awaiting the destiny of God Most High. Please pray to God Most High that they may be cured," he said. Raja Husna prayed that they should be healed and their illness was cured by her prayer.

The bedouin then came forward and said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, I have come before you because my servant is grievously ill, please pray that God Most High may cure him." Raja Husna said, "Black servant, acknowledge your sins to me so that God Most High may cure you." He said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, my master found a woman abandoned in the common burial ground. He took her home and she stayed there for some time. One day entering



330

the house, I saw her beauty and my heart was enraptured with her and I said, 'Lady, if you refuse my desire, I will certainly bring terrible disgrace upon you.' One night the devil tempted me, I entered my master's house into her bedroom and I saw her asleep with my master's child. I drew my knife, killed the child and smeared the blood over her body; but she was asleep and was unaware of what I had done. I placed the knife under her pillow. Your majesty, lord of the universe, it is because of this that I incurred the wrath of God Most High." Raja Husna said, "Sir, do you forgive the sin of your servant?" "Your majesty, lord of the universe, I forgive his sin, please pray to God Most High that he may be cured," the bedouin pleaded. Raja Husna prayed to God Most High and the servant regained his former health. The bedouin offered some riches, but she refused them.

A man came forward and said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, please pray to God Most High that I may be cured thanks to your prayer." She said, "Sir, what is your sin? Acknowledge your sins so that God Most High may cure you." He said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, one day I was sitting in my home when suddenly an envoy of the king of my country arrived. He took my hands and tied them. I asked him, 'Servant of God, why are you tying me up?' He replied, 'Why have you not returned the king's money? It is because of that that I am tying you up.' He took me with him to the king. On my arrival, the king ordered me to be impaled and I was impaled by the side of the main thoroughfare. A woman passed by and when she came to my place, she inquired of those impaling me, 'What is the crime of this man being impaled?' They replied, 'He has taken the king's money.' The woman asked, 'How much is this money?' They replied, 'Four hundred *dinar*.' She said, 'Cease impaling him,' and gave them the four hundred *dinar* and walked on. I was freed thanks to her.

When I had been released, I asked them, 'Who has freed me from being impaled and has been good to me?' They replied,

331

'The lady who is walking over there is the one who freed you.' I followed her saying, 'Wait for me.' She waited and I said to her, 'Allow me to accompany you so that I may serve you and repay your goodness.' She said to me, 'I do not wish to be accompanied or to be served by you.' She ordered me to return home saying, 'Return and you must perform acts of devotion to God Most High.' She walked on and I pursued her and seeing her beauty I became filled with desire for her. I said to her, 'Lady, do you wish to marry me?' She replied, 'My husband is still alive so how can I marry you?' 'If you refuse to marry me, I will cause you great harm,' I said. Hearing my words she walked on and I pursued her until she came to the seashore. I noticed a sailing ship and waved to it saying, 'Who owns this ship?' 'I own the ship,' came the reply. I sold the woman to that man for four hundred *dinar*," the man added, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, it is because of this deed that I have been afflicted by God."

Raja Husna said to her husband, "Merchant, the woman mentioned by this man is your wife, do you forgive this man who has betrayed her?" He replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, I am patiently awaiting the destiny of God (praise be to Him the Most High). Please pray to God Most High that he may be cured." Raja Husna prayed and he regained his former health. Her husband came forward saying, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, I beg to take my leave of you." Raja Husna said, "All may return home in God's name except yourself." He inquired, "Why will you not permit me to return?" "I have a favour to ask of you," Raja Husna said. Meanwhile they all returned home in sadness because they had not been detained by her. Raja Husna set off to the palace accompanied by her husband and they entered the palace. She ordered that he should be bathed and this was done.

Having bathed she gave him fine clothing and he dressed in them. She ordered food to be served to him, this was done and he ate. Having eaten Husna ordered him to enter the

332

palace and he entered while thinking to himself. Now at that time Raja Husna was sitting on her seat and she invited her husband to sit on one before her asking, "Sir, would you recognize your wife, Husna?" He replied, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, my wife has been dead for some time," and he wept because of his great love and affection for her. Raja Husna said, "Praise be to God who has given me a husband who has searched for me. For we belong to God and to His presence we will return." Then Raja Husna ordered the curtains to be lowered and she removed her male attire and her great beauty could be seen. Seeing her, her husband recognized her and said, "You are my wife." She said, "Certainly, I am your wife and you are my husband. Praise be to God who has made me meet you."

When her husband wished to approach her, she said, "Wait a moment whilst I perform two *rakaats*." He said, "Certainly." She performed two *rakaats* and one *salam* with sincerity to God Most High. Completing this she prostrated herself saying, "My God, my Lord and my Master, take my soul before my husband touches me." God Most High spoke to the angel of death, "Angel of death, take the soul of My servant Husna in her prostration." The angel of death went to take her soul but her husband was unaware that she was already dead; and he waited. When she was late in rising from her prostration, her husband approached her and saw that she had died in her prostration. Her husband was amazed and saddened, shrieked loudly and wept because of his great love for his wife.

When this news reached the people, they came and entered the palace saying, "Why are you all sad and weeping?" The occupants of the palace said, "Why should we not weep? Our king has returned to God's mercy." Hearing this news they all wept loudly because they loved the king greatly for her piety and her generosity, and cried, "Praise be to God Most High who has taken our pious and devout king." The body of Raja Husna was then bathed once in water, a second time in rose water and the third time in musk and

camphor. She was wrapped in a winding-sheet which was sprinkled with perfume. Raja Husna's body was borne to her grave whilst they recited *takbir*, *tahlil* and *tahmid*. She was  
 333 buried and great wealth was distributed to the poor as alms.

The people all gathered and they appointed the previous king's son as king. The husband of Husna became like a madman because of his great love for his wife. Everyone now knew that he was Husna's husband. After some time of watching over his wife's grave, he returned to his own country in great grief. According to another version, her husband died beside her grave because of his great love for her.

- (i) My advice for wise women is: They should be aware and should take a warning from hearing this story. They should strengthen their allegiance to their husbands, lest they be disloyal to them, so that their faith may be perfected and that God may grant them the status of a saint.

## Story 29

The story goes:

Once upon a time a revelation descended upon the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) which said, "Isa go to a city called Sur, speak to the citizens and convert them to the faith." The prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) replied, "My Lord and my Master, You are the Most High Lord who knows Your servant." God Most High spoke, "Isa, your words are true, but go, for in that city there are two types of people, one destined for heaven, the other for hell. Go to them and convert them to the faith."

The prophet of God Isa then travelled until he reached the city of Sur. Now that city had two gates, one seawards and the other landwards. The prophet of God Isa came to the seawards gate and met an old lady washing her clothes; and

334

Isa gave her the Muslim greeting. She stared at the prophet of God Isa and commented, "In my whole life, I have never heard words such as yours." The prophet of God Isa asked, "Old lady, what is your custom when greeting?" She replied, "Our customary greeting is: May the gods Lat, Uzza and Hubal al-ala grant you peace. But young man, I have never seen a more handsome man than you. Who are you, where do you come from and where are you going?" "I am one of the envoys of the Lord God of all," replied the prophet of God Isa. The old lady said, "Young man, if you are seen by our king he will certainly be angry with you and me." The prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) said, "Old lady, your king could never be angry with me." The prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) looked at the earth and took a wet clod from it, shaped it into a bird, placed it on the palm of his hand and spoke, "Bird, fly with the permission of God Most High." The bird then flew.

When the old lady saw this action of the prophet of God, she said, "Young man, are you a magician, a sham or a fortune-teller?" The prophet of God Isa replied, "I am not a magician, a sham or a fortuneteller, but I am one of the envoys of the Lord of all worlds." The old lady said, "Sir, I have a child who is like a mass of flesh, with no arms and legs, lips, eyes, ears, eyebrows, tongue, head nor nose. If you can create for my child a human form, then I will know that your Lord is the true Lord and I will believe that you are truly an envoy of God the Lord of all worlds." The prophet of God Isa commented, "Certainly, God willing, where is your child now?" "He is in my house, come let us go to him," she replied. The prophet of God Isa went with the old lady and they both entered the gate of the city. Now by that gate there was a temple and in it were about forty idols. When the prophet of God Isa entered the temple, the idols prostrated in awe of the prophet of God Isa. The old lady entered the temple and prostrated before the idols. Seeing this action, the prophet of God Isa said, "Old lady, do not act so but say: I testify that there is no god but God, He alone with no partner and that Isa is the Spirit of God."

The idols cast themselves prostrate and the person guarding the gate commented, "There has entered into this city a Muslim from amongst the Israelites called Isa, he is a magician and a sham."

335

When the prophet of God Isa arrived at the old lady's home, he seated himself in it. The old lady brought her child before him and he took his handkerchief and placed it over the old lady's child who was like a mass of flesh. Then Isa beat him with his staff, saying, "Son, become a complete man by the truth of the Lord who says to a thing 'be' and it comes into being." The child rose and stood on his two feet and looked with his two eyes, saying, "I testify that there is no god but God, He alone with no partner and that Isa is the Spirit of God." The prophet of God Isa then said, "Old lady, I am sending your son to the king and telling him to convey to him the words of truth which are: There is no god but God and Isa is the Spirit of God." The child departed and when he arrived at the king's gate, he heard the voice of a man shouting out thus, "Whoever brings Isa to me in a state of humiliation, I will marry him to my child, and give him half of my kingdom; during my lifetime I will make him my vizier and after my death he will be my successor."

When the child heard these words, he returned to his mother and reported, "My mother, there is some beneficial news for us as Isa is in our house." "My child, what is this beneficial news?" asked the old lady. He replied, "I heard someone making an announcement at the king's gate saying: Whoever brings Isa to me in a state of humiliation, I will marry him to my child, during my lifetime I will make him my vizier and after my death he will become king." When the mother heard her child's words, she was highly delighted. The child took his horse and tried to mount it. As he was doing this, the prophet of God Isa looked at him and said, "Son, is this what you wish to do? May God Most High curse you, become a mass of flesh as you were before." When the prophet of God Isa had cursed him thus, he became a mass of

flesh as he had been before.

When the old lady saw her child in this condition, she pleaded, "Prophet of God, your forgiveness is greater than our sin." The prophet of God Isa cast his handkerchief over the mass of flesh and beat it with his staff, saying, "Son, become a complete man by God who says to everything 'be' and it comes into being." The child rose and stood saying, "There is no god but God and you Isa are the Spirit of God." "Son, go to your king this very moment and convert him to the faith," ordered the prophet of God Isa.

336

The child set off and stood before the king saying, "King, the one who sent me to you is an envoy of the Lord of all. Utter the words of truth, which are: There is no god but God and Isa is the Spirit of God." Now at that time there were three hundred and sixty idols arranged before the king. When they heard the child speaking those words, the idols prostrated themselves and the king also fell in a faint. When the king regained consciousness he addressed his captains, "Who is there amongst you who can kill this child?" One of the men from the king's family rose, took his sword, struck off the child's head and ordered him to be cast out of the city.

Upon hearing that her child had been killed by the king, the old lady went before the prophet of God Isa to report what had befallen her child. He asked, "Where are your child's head and body now? Bring them to me." She went and conveyed them to the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace). He cast his handkerchief over the child's head and body and beat them with his staff saying, "Son, become a complete man by the truth of the Lord who says to a thing 'be' and it comes into being." The child rose and looking said, "There is no god but God and you Isa are the Spirit of God;" and continued, "Prophet of God, order me to go to the king once again for death tastes very sweet and is delicious." He replied, "Son, go, do not fear, for God Most High is with you." He went and stood before the king.

Seeing him the king asked, "Child, were you not the one who we killed, whose head we cut off and whose body we cast out of the city?" "Certainly," he said. "How can you now be alive?" inquired the king. He answered, "The one who has brought me to life is the Lord who created me and you, who gives sustenance to me and you. He is the Lord who has the power of death over me and you and can bring to life me and you." He continued, "King, marry me to your daughter, give me half your kingdom, make me your vizier during your lifetime and your successor after your death. Utter the words of truth which are: There is no god but God and Isa is the Spirit of God." When the idols heard these words they all prostrated themselves and the king also fell in a faint. When he regained consciousness, he addressed his officials, "Who is there amongst you who can kill this child?" Another member of the king's family rose, took his sword and cut through the child seven times. His flesh was given to the wild beasts to eat.

337 Hearing that her child had been killed by the king, the old lady went before the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) to report what had befallen her child. He said, "Old lady, God Most High has forbidden your child's flesh to the wild beasts. Go, and bring his flesh to me." She inquired, "Prophet of God, where is his flesh for they have eaten it?" He answered, "Old lady, go to the wild beasts and say to them: Beasts, the one who sent me to you is an envoy of the Lord of all, I come to ask you for my child's flesh which you have eaten." The lady went to them and said, "Beasts, the one who sent me to you is an envoy of the Lord of all, give me my child's flesh which you have eaten." By the decree of God Most High, the beasts replied, "We obey God's words and follow the orders of the Apostle of God." The flesh was then given to the old lady.

She returned to the prophet of God Isa bearing her child's flesh which she gave to him, that is to the prophet of God. The prophet of God took his handkerchief and placed it over the flesh, beat it with his staff saying, "Son, become a



complete man by the permission of God." The child rose and standing said, "I testify that there is no god but God, He alone with no partner and that Isa is the Spirit of God;" and continued, "Prophet of God, order me to go to the king for a third time for death tastes amazingly sweet and is delicious." "Son, go, do not fear for God Most High is with you," said the prophet of God Isa.

The child set off and when he arrived, he went in and stood before the king. The king asked, "Child, were you not the one who we killed and whose flesh we fed to the wild beasts?" "Certainly," he said. "How can you now be alive?" inquired the king. He answered, "The one who has brought me to life is the Lord who created me and you, who gives sustenance to me and you; he is the Lord who has the power of death over me and you." He continued, "King, utter the words of truth which are: There is no god but God and Isa is the Spirit of God." When the idols and the king heard these words, the king fell in a faint and the idols also prostrated.

338 When the king regained consciousness, he addressed his captains, "Who is there amongst you who can kill this child?" Another member of the king's family rose and he ordered firewood to be gathered for about forty days. The fire was lit and they killed him. The child's flesh was chopped up and thrown into the fire until the flesh and bones had become ash. The ashes were then divided into three, one part was cast to one place, another part was cast upon a hill and the last part was cast into the sea.

Hearing the news of her child, the old lady went before the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) and pleaded, "Prophet of God, my child who was a lump of flesh and is my dear one, is no longer in this world, neither his flesh, his blood, nor his ashes." On hearing this the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace) went to the seashore and performed his ablutions. He then prayed two *rakaats* and performed a *salam*, praying to God Most High. God Most High ordered the angel who guards the wind to gather together the ashes of the child and he

conveyed them to him saying, "Peace be upon you, prophet of God, take these ashes." "And upon you be peace, God's mercy and blessing," he replied. The prophet of God Isa took the ashes from him and cast his handkerchief over it and beat it with his staff saying, "Son, become a complete man by the permission of God Most High." The child rose and standing with his tongue protruding between his lips said, "There is no god but God, He alone with no partner and Isa is the Spirit of God;" he continued, "Prophet of God, order me to go to the king once again." "Son, go, do not fear for God Most High is with you," the prophet of God said.

339 The child went and stood before the king and said, "King, marry me to your daughter, give me half your kingdom, make me your vizier during your lifetime and make me your successor after your death. Utter the words of truth which are: There is no god but God and Isa is the Spirit of God." When the child spoke those words, all the idols prostrated themselves and the king also fell in a faint. When he regained consciousness, he said to his captains, "Who is there amongst you who can kill this child?" Suddenly Iblis (may God curse him) appeared and said, "Your majesty, lord of the universe, this young man has come to your majesty to ask for your daughter and he says he is an envoy of the Lord of all, he is a magician and a sham, for he has never died. If your majesty leaves the matter to me, I will certainly destroy him." "I will leave the matter to you, do what you desire," said the king.

Iblis said, "Young man, do you wish to marry the king's daughter?" "Certainly," he replied. Iblis said, "The princess desires as brideprice from you seventy camels loaded with gold, seventy of silver, seventy of pearls and seventy of jacinths." Hearing this, the young man set out to return to the prophet of God Isa and when he arrived, the prophet of God Isa looked at him saying, "Young man, are you still alive?" "Certainly, I have come before you for I have a great desire," he said. The prophet of God asked, "What is this desire?" He replied, "They require from me

seventy camels loaded with gold, seventy of silver, seventy of pearls and seventy of jacinths."

The prophet of God Isa said, "Do not fear, for God Most High will take care of you and will satisfy their desires with ease. Young man, go to them and ask for men and camels to carry their requests. Afterwards take them to the large hill and say to it: Treasures in the earth, the envoy of the Lord of all has sent me to you to collect gold, silver, pearls and jacinths." The young man returned to the king and when he arrived said, "King, give me men and camels to collect what you requested." The king gave orders for men to take camels with the young man. He took them all to the large hill and addressed it, "Hill, I am an envoy from the envoy of the Lord of all sent to you to collect gold, silver, pearls and jacinths." Hearing the young man's words, by permission of God Most High, the stones and sand became gold, silver, pearls and jacinths, and he said to those with him, "Load up what the king desired." This they did and conveyed it to the king saying, "King, take this treasure."

340

Seeing this rich treasure, the king looked at Iblis saying, "This young man has destroyed your resources." But Iblis retorted, "Be patient, I have another trick, he will certainly not be able to do it." Addressing the young man, he said, "Young man, do you really wish to marry the king's daughter?" "Certainly," he replied. Iblis said, "The princess asks of you a palace suspended between the sky and the earth, of seven layers, upon each, two flowing streams and within, various kinds of fruit trees. If you are able, do what the king desires." Returning to the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace), he said, "Prophet of God, they have made an even greater request than before." "What is it?" he asked. He replied, "They requested a palace suspended between the sky and the earth, of seven layers upon each, two flowing streams and within, varieties of fruit trees." "Young man, do not fear, God Most High will grant their desires and make them blush," the prophet of God Isa said. That night the prophet of God Isa (upon him

be peace) performed two *rakaats* and one *salam*, praying to God (to whom belong glory and majesty) saying, "My God, my Lord and my Master, You have power over all." The prophet of God Isa's prayer was not complete when a revelation descended thus, "Isa, I created your miracles four thousand years before I created you. Isa, when dawn comes, look towards where the sun rises."

341 When dawn came, the prophet of God Isa looked towards where the sun was rising and saw a palace suspended between the sky and the earth. He said, "Young man, look this is the palace they requested from you. Go to the king and say to him: King, look towards where the sun rises." The young man went to the king and on arrival said to him, "King, look towards where the sun rises." The king looked and saw a palace suspended between the sky and the earth, more beautiful than he had desired. The king was astonished as he said, "Young man, your Lord is the true Lord and Isa is His true envoy. I have three hundred gods but none of them can do anything at all." He continued, "Young man, bring the prophet Isa to me." He replied, "The prophet of God Isa will refuse to come to you, it is fitting that you should go to him." Hearing the young man's words, the king went out with his followers and reached the prophet of God Isa (upon him be peace). The prophet of God spoke to him, "King, this is the palace which is suspended between the sky and the earth; where do you desire it, on the earth or in the hereafter?" He replied, "Prophet of God, I repent, teach me about Islam." The prophet of God took his hand and taught him to say, "I testify that there is no god but God, He alone with no partner and that Isa is the Spirit of God."

The king became a Muslim and with him forty thousand men of his people. He married his daughter to the young man, gave him half his kingdom, made him his vizier during his lifetime and bequeathed his kingdom to him when he died. The young man was delighted and the prophet of God Isa returned to Baitulmukadas with pleasure and delight (And God knows best).

## SECTION 5 - THE SOURCES

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE SOURCES NAMED BY NURUDDIN AR-RANIRI

As has been mentioned in Section 1.2, the *Bustan us-Salatin* displays far greater planning and organization of material than has hitherto been recognized. This material, in the form of anecdotes, moralistic tales and supposedly historical examples of actions by prominent men and women and their success or failure, is grouped by Nuruddin ar-Raniri under the appropriate chapter heading. The material of these chapters was borrowed from many and varied sources. After many anecdotes, there is a quotation from the *hadith* or Quran. Nuruddin ar-Raniri's own teaching is preceeded by the word *nasihat* (advice). It would seem probable in fact that the only writings to 'originate' from Nuruddin ar-Raniri are the ones contained in the sections preceeded by the word *nasihat*. However, as has already been indicated, in such writings authentication of the material is of far greater importance than originality. Creativity in literature is something that has never been valued in either Malay literature nor indeed in Islamic literature as a whole. A writer must never usurp the creative function of the Creator, to do so would be idolatry.

Before proceeding to examine the named sources in the *Bustan us-Salatin*, it is proposed to discuss general aspects of these references to the sources.

The most frequently used acknowledgement of a source is *kata sahibul-hikayat* or *kata rawi*; in some manuscripts the former has been altered to *kata yang empunya ceritera*. All these mean 'the storyteller relates' and does not necessarily imply that Nuruddin ar-Raniri cannot name an exact source. In places such an acknowledgement can imply that the source is a previously named authority but this is not always so. Although authentication is important for each episode,

a named source does not appear to impart greater value than simply saying *kata sahibulhikayat*. It is only very rarely that Nuruddin ar-Raniri begins a new episode with *sekali persetua pada suatu hari* (once upon a time).

Nuruddin ar-Raniri frequently cites unnamed experts such as *kata ahlultawarikh* (the historians say), *kata segala hukama* (the legal experts say), *kata ahlulmufasirin* (the commentators on the Quran say) and *kata ahlulmuahadis* (the commentators on the *hadith* say). At first sight it might seem strange that an expert is not mentioned by name; it appears probable that Nuruddin ar-Raniri in citing their views is anxious to enforce the fact that all, and not just a singular named individual, endorse a particular course of action. This is of special importance when the moral to be drawn emphasizes the fact that all the experts agree on the view to be held.

The introductory words *kata syair* (the poem or poet says) are used either before a couplet (*bait*) or a quatrain (*rubai*), although in certain places Nuruddin ar-Raniri is more explicit in saying *seperti kata bait ini* (as the following couplet says). Philosophical maxims are preceded by the word *hikmat* (wisdom).

Quotations from the Quran are prefaced by the phrase *seperti firman Allah Taala yang tersebut dalam Quran* (as God Most High says in the Quran) or simply *seperti firman Allah Taala* (as God Most High says). Quotations from the *hadith* are preceded by the words *sabda Nabi* (the Prophet says) and sometimes the distinction is made between *hadis kudsi* (in which God Himself speaks) and *hadis nabawi* (a tradition from the Prophet). When a *hadith* is attributed to a named source, a feature which only rarely occurs, it is the first name in the chain of transmitters that is given; such as *kata Abu Hurairah* (Abu Hurairah says). Nuruddin ar-Raniri appears to have made use of the compendiums of *hadith* compiled from the canonical collections, rather than the great collections of *hadith* such as that of Bukhārī.

Apart from these general references to material from other sources utilised in the *Bustan us-Salatin*, there are specific references to named sources. These fall into two categories; in the first a particular person, generally a figure held to be dependable as a narrator

or transmitter, is named. This name is generally not that of an author but is itself an authority quoted in another work, examples of such names are *kata Siti Aisyah*, *kata Lukman al-Hakim*, *kata Imam Abdullah ibn Mubarak*, *kata Syekh Muhammad anak Abu Bakar* and *kata Imam Syafii*.

Into the second category fall references by Nuruddin ar-Raniri to a specific Arabic work. At the beginning of Book I of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, there is a list of books which Nuruddin ar-Raniri names as his sources:

Maka dijawabkan fakir daripada kitab basa Arab yang berpegang seperti *kitāb ʿajā'ib al-malakūt* dan *daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq* dan *mirṣād al-ʿibād* dan daripada *tafsīr maʿālim al-tanzīl al-baghawī* dan *tafsīr wāḥidī* dan *rawd al-rayāḥīn* dan *uns al-munqatiʿīn* dan *raidaṭ al-manāzīr* dan *durar al-ghurar* dan *nuzhat al-akḥbār fī mahāsin al-akhyār* dan *jawāmiʿ al-kalim* dan lain daripada kitab itu. (Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 4)

The identification of these eleven books is now discussed.

1. *Kitāb ʿajā'ib al-malakūt*.

This work can be identified with reasonable certainty. It is a work by the famous 5th century AH author al-Kisā'ī who is well known as the author of a *Kitāb Qisas al-anbiyā'*. There is some dispute as to al-Kisā'ī's other names<sup>1</sup>. The *Kitāb ʿajā'ib al-malakūt* is also known simply as *Kitāb al-malakūt* and is concerned with the creation story. Although a printed edition of this work has not been consulted, from the description of the incomplete SOAS manuscript (MS 43258) in London, it would appear likely that his work was used by Nuruddin ar-Raniri in the compilation of Book I. In the list of eleven books, there is no mention of the *Qisas al-anbiyā'*; this work is however mentioned later, in Book II Chapter 1.

2. *Kitāb daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*.

This is a work by the famous Abū Ḥamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-

---

<sup>1</sup> Enc of Islam Vol 2 pt 2 p 1037.

Ghazzālī who died in 505 (1111 AD). According to Brocklemann, it would appear that this is his work which is usually known as *ʿAqīda* but also goes under the titles of *Qawā'id al-ʿaqā'id* and *Daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq fī 'l-ʿaqā'id*; the work concerns itself with theology<sup>2</sup>. More recent research on the books written by al-Ghazzālī has been concerned with their authenticity and this has shown that the *Qawā'id al-ʿaqā'id* is the same as the second of the forty books of the *Ihyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*<sup>3</sup>.

In the list of sources at the beginning of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, Nuruddin ar-Raniri does not mention either the *Ihyā' ʿulūm al-dīn* or the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*, two other works by al-Ghazzālī; however both have been used frequently by him as sources, and indeed are named by him later in the work.

It is of interest that the *Kitāb daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq* is quoted by Nuruddin ar-Raniri as having been a source also for his compilation of the *Asrar al-insan*<sup>4</sup>.

### 3. *Mirsād al-ʿibād*.

This can be identified as a work by Najmuddīn Dāya who was born in 564 (1168 AD) and died in 654 (1256 AD) in Baghdad<sup>5</sup>. He wrote a work in Persian bearing the title *Mirsād al-ʿibād min al-mabda' ilā 'l-maʿād* which was subsequently translated into Arabic. This mystic writer appears to have enjoyed a large readership<sup>6</sup>.

It is worth noting that Nuruddin ar-Raniri used another work by Najmuddīn Dāya, the *Bahr al-ḥaqā'iq wa 'l-maʿānī*, while compiling the *Asrar al-insan*. The work is mentioned several times in the text of the *Asrar al-insan*<sup>7</sup>.

---

<sup>2</sup>Brockelmann 1898 p 419-426, 1937 p 744-756.

<sup>3</sup>Bouyges 1959 p 38-40. <sup>4</sup>Tudjimah (ed) 1960 p 81.

<sup>5</sup>Brockelmann 1898 p 448, 1937 p 803-804.

<sup>6</sup>Browne 1928 Vol 2 p 495-496. <sup>7</sup>Tudjimah (ed) 1960 p 346.



4. *Tafsīr ma<sup>c</sup>ālīm al-tanzīl al-baghawī*.

Al-Baghawī wrote many famous works<sup>8</sup> and is best known for his collections of *ḥadīth* which he compiled from the seven canonical works. He died in 516 (1122 AD) or according to other authorities 510 (1116 AD). Al-Baghawī wrote a commentary on the Quran which is entitled *Ma<sup>c</sup>ālīm al-tanzīl*<sup>9</sup>.

In the *Asrar al-insan*, Nuruddin ar-Raniri refers to *Ṣāhib tafsīr Baghawī*<sup>10</sup> which Tudjimah has identified as being the *Ma<sup>c</sup>ālīm al-tanzīl*<sup>11</sup>.

5. *Tafsīr Wāhidī*.

This is the second *tafsīr* that Nuruddin ar-Raniri mentions using in the compilation of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. <sup>c</sup>Alī b. Mattūya al-Wāhidī al-Nīsāburī who died in 468 (1075 AD) was the author of many famous *tafsīr* on the Quran, amongst the most famous *Kitāb asbāb al-nuzūl*, *Al-tafsīr al-basīṭ* and *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-wajīz*<sup>12</sup>. From this brief reference in the *Bustan us-Salatin*, it is not possible to ascertain which of these works was used.

6. *Rawd al-rayāḥīn*.

This work can be clearly identified as the *Rawd al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-sālihīn* by <sup>c</sup>Abdullah ibn As<sup>c</sup>ad al-Yāfi<sup>c</sup>ī who was born in 698 (1298 AD) in Yemen and died in 768 (1367 AD). The work consists of 500 anecdotes<sup>13</sup>; it was drawn on frequently by Nuruddin ar-Raniri during his compilation of Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* (Section 5.2). Nuruddin ar-Raniri prefaces his citations from this work with *Kata Syekh Abdullah Yafii* (Syekh Abdullah Yafii says).

<sup>8</sup>Brockelmann 1898 p 363-365, 1937 p 620-622.

<sup>9</sup>Enc of Islam Vol 1 pt 2 p 561-562.

<sup>10</sup>Tudjimah (ed) 1960 p 186. <sup>11</sup>Tudjimah (ed) 1960 p 347.

<sup>12</sup>Brockelmann 1898 p 411-412, 1937 p 730-731.

<sup>13</sup>Brockelmann 1902 p 176-177, 1938 p 227-228.

7. *Uns al-munqati<sup>c</sup>in*.

Abū 'l-Sinān al-Mausilī who was born in 551 (1156 AD) and died in 630 (1233 AD) wrote a book called *Kitāb uns* (or *anīs*) *al-munqati<sup>c</sup>in wa-riyād al-salikīn* which is made up of a collection of 300 *hadith* interspersed with many stories<sup>14</sup>. Nuruddin ar-Raniri prefaces his citations from this work with *Kata Uns* (Uns says); this frequently occurs in Book III.

8. *Raudat al-manāzīr*.

The identification of this work has presented problems. All the Malay manuscripts have *manāzīr* and not *manāzīr*, but such a title could not be correct. This can be construed as a mistake for *nāzīr*, in which case it could be a work by the famous historian al-<sup>c</sup>Aidarūs who was born in 978 (1570 AD) and died in 1038 (1628 AD), *al-Raud al-nāzīr fī man ismihū<sup>c</sup> Abdalqādir*. However the content of this work, which concerns itself with 9th and 10th century people called Abdalqadir, makes this an unlikely work to have been of great interest to Nuruddin ar-Raniri<sup>15</sup>.

It would seem more likely that Nuruddin ar-Raniri is referring to a work called *Raudat al-manāzīr*. This would give two possible alternatives:

- A. *Raudat al-manāzīr* which contains extracts of the famous world history of al-Aiyūbī who died in 732 (1331 AD) called *Mukhtasar al-bashar*<sup>16</sup>.

Or more likely because of its contents:

- B. *Raudat al-manāzīr fī<sup>c</sup> ilm al-awā'il wa-'l-awākhir* by al-Shihna who died in 815 (1412 AD). This work concerns itself with eschatology<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Brockelmann 1898 p 358, 1937 p 610.

<sup>15</sup> Brockelmann 1902 p 419, 1938 p 617.

<sup>16</sup> Brockelmann 1902 p 44-45, 1938 p 44.

<sup>17</sup> Brockelmann 1902 p 141-142, 1938 p 176-177.

9. *Durar al-ghurar.*

This reference suggests two possibilities:

- A. A work by Ibn Zafar who died in 565 (1169 AD) called *Durar al-ghurar* which is itself a reworking of the *Kitāb anbā' nujabā' al-abnā'* containing characteristics and stories of ten *ṣahāba* and their followers, pious men and good princes and Persian kings<sup>18</sup>.
- B. A work by al-Ahwāzī of the 4th century AH who wrote a book called *Kitāb al-durar wa-'l-ghurar* which consists of moralistic letters<sup>19</sup>.
- There is no evidence so far to show which of these possibilities is the more likely.

10. *Nuzhat al-akhbār fī mahāsin al-akhyār.*

This work, which is given its full title by Nuruddin ar-Raniri, can be clearly identified as being a work by Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Nawājī who died in 859 (1455 AD)<sup>20</sup>. Unfortunately there is only one manuscript of this work, in Mosul, and according to Voorhoeve (private communication) this manuscript has now been lost.

11. *Jawāmi' al-kalim.*

The full title of this work by <sup>c</sup>Ali Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī, a famous Indian collector of *ḥadīth* is *Jawāmi' al-kalim fī 'l-mawā'iz wa-'l-ḥikam*<sup>21</sup>. He was born in 885 (1480 AD) and died in 975 (1567 AD). Shaikh <sup>c</sup>Ali Muttaqī's life story and works are of considerable interest<sup>22</sup>. The *Jawāmi' al-kalim* consists of about 3000 aphorisms of which 500 are *iqtibāsāt* (quotations from the Quran), the same number again are *tadmīnāt* (*ḥadīth* with a preceding rhyming phrase), 300 are sayings of Ibn <sup>c</sup>Atā Iskandari, 100 are sayings of his disciple and the remainder are sayings of the Mutaqaddimūn. The book is divided

<sup>18</sup>Brockelmann 1898 p 351-352, 1937 p 595-596.

<sup>19</sup>Brockelmann 1898 p 95-96.

<sup>20</sup>Brockelmann 1902 p 56-57, and more particularly 1938 p 56-57.

<sup>21</sup>Brockelmann 1902 p 384-385, 1938 p 518-519.

<sup>22</sup>Quraishi 1972 p 199-203.

into 80 sections, which are arranged alphabetically<sup>23</sup>.

It is of interest that Nuruddin ar-Raniri should refer to a collection of *hadith* by an Indian author. Although of Indo-Arab origin, it is doubtful whether he displayed any particular preference for Indian authors. Commentaries on the *hadith* produced in India would be as reliable and as authentic in Egypt as in India because in theory, there should be no difference between the literature in Arabic produced throughout the Islamic world. Most of the commentaries on the Quran and *hadith* produced in India were written in Arabic and not Persian; the language used there for most other works.

The function of this list of eleven books at the beginning of the *Bustan us-Salatin* is not immediately apparent. This is certainly not a complete list of the works Nuruddin ar-Raniri consulted in the process of compiling the *Bustan us-Salatin* - further works are cited even in the first book. Whether the listed works were the most significant ones is as yet difficult to establish as only a small proportion of the text has been subjected to detailed analysis in regard to its sources. It would seem unlikely that the list is merely meant to impress a reader. A few of the items in it appear to be rather uncommon when judged by the criteria of the library holdings of today; on the other hand many, such as the *tafsir* and collections of *hadith*, are reasonably popular.

Other named sources occur throughout the *Bustan us-Salatin*. Book II contains a reference to a *Qisas al-anbiya'*. The extent to which this was also used in the compilation is uncertain, and it is not clear either whether Arabic or Malay versions were used (Section 1.1.2).

In Book III Chapter 2 Nuruddin ar-Raniri makes another reference to the *Rawd al-rayahin*, a work by al-Yafi'i (no 6 in the list). It is especially noticeable that Nuruddin ar-Raniri did not usually take consecutive passages of material from the *Rawd al-rayahin*. This material was not taken at random, but was carefully selected and placed in the order desired. Great emphasis is placed upon this

---

<sup>23</sup>Zubayd Ahmad 1929 p 76.

selection by Nuruddin ar-Raniri; this can be shown by the fact that he frequently speaks of *hikayat yang munasabah* (suitable stories) in the *Bustan us-Salatin*. This becomes clear when the material incorporated into the *Bustan us-Salatin* from the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* is examined, appearing as it does in an entirely new order:

<u>Rawd story no</u>	<u>Occurrence in the <i>Bustan</i></u>	
	BOOK	CHAPTER
294	V	1 (early)
295	V	2
296	V	2 (follows 295)
297	IV	2
298	V	2 (end)
299	V	2 (before 298)
300	IV	2
301	III	4

Table 7 Occurrence of certain *Rawd* stories within the *Bustan*.

Similar selectivity is shown also in the material from al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> that is incorporated into Book IV (Section 5.2).

Sources named elsewhere in the *Bustan us-Salatin* have not been identified; it is not always clear whether they are books or authors referred to directly by Nuruddin ar-Raniri, or whether they are in fact sources within a second book. An example is a book mentioned in Book VI Chapter 1 *Kitab yang bernama Khasraf Syarian* (a book called *Khasraf Syarian*).

Reference was made earlier to two other books by al-Ghazzālī which are clearly identified, the *Nasīhat al-mulūk* (mentioned in Book II Chapter 2), and the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (mentioned three times in Book VII Chapter 4). In fact it is evident that much of the material in Books III, IV, V and VII appears to be derived from these two works; furthermore, the structure of the *Bustan us-Salatin* also owes much to that of the *Nasīhat al-mulūk* (Section 1.2). An examination

of the selectivity which Nuruddin ar-Raniri displays in the use of material from the *Nasīhat al-mulūk* reinforces the conclusions reached in the examination of the way he drew on the *Rawḍ al-rayāhīn*.

Nuruddin ar-Raniri was extremely selective in the materials he borrowed and rarely seems to have taken consecutive passages. One of the few exceptions to this practice occurs in Book III Chapter 6. Drawing entirely from Part II Chapter 3 of the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*; this chapter in the *Bustan us-Salatin* displays a similarity with Chapter 11 of the Malay *Taj us-Salatin* both apparently derived independantly from the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*.

## 5.2 DETAILED EXAMINATION OF THE SOURCES USED FOR BOOK IV AND PARALLEL THEMES IN MALAY LITERATURE

This section examines the material in the part of Book IV under investigation, story by story; the same numbering system is used as that for the transcription in Section 3.2. One aim of this section is to establish what texts were available to Nuruddin ar-Raniri in the compilation of this book; a second, and perhaps more important, aim is to point out similarities and differences between his work and other Malay narratives. It is likely that the popular tales about the various Islamic hero figures were introduced to the Malay world, and later popularised, via such works as the *Bustan us-Salatin*<sup>24</sup>. It is through these tales that popular notions of individuals such as Iskandar Zulkarnain, the wise judge Jalinus Hakim, the famous king Harun ar-Rasyid, the ascetic Ibrahim ibn Adham, and the prophets Musa, Isa, Khidir, Ilias, Nuh, Sulaiman arose.

### Story 1

Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* contains three stories concerned with Iskandar Zulkarnain. Although the Malay stories of Iskandar echo genuine historical traditions, they tend to deal at greater length with the more legendary aspects of his life. Alexander the Great became identified with the Dhu'l-Qarnain of the Quran (18:83). Thus the figure that emerges from these stories is not that of a world-conqueror and founder of cities, but rather, of a hero who travelled around the world looking for knowledge, not conquest. An almost indispensable attribute of the figure of Iskandar Zulkarnain is that he is accompanied by philosophers, frequently Jalinus Hakim, with whom he is able to discuss enigmatic problems.

Story 1 has been printed in Malay in Niemann's collection of anecdotes<sup>25</sup>. It is not included in the Malay *Hikayat Iskandar*<sup>26</sup>; this

---

<sup>24</sup>Taib bin Osman 1967 p 102.

<sup>25</sup>Niemann 1892 p 230-232.

<sup>26</sup>Van Leeuwen 1937.

only includes a nucleus of the stories which have become attached to the figure of Iskandar<sup>27</sup>. A possible Arabic source for this story is the *Sirāj al-mulūk* of al-Turtūshi<sup>28</sup>. The story in al-Turtūshi is briefer than the one here and does not contain any reference to its ultimate source. This story of Iskandar and the destroyed city has many similarities to the City of Brass story according to Hamori<sup>29</sup>.

At the beginning of the story Nuruddin ar-Raniri refers to Abu Bakar anak Abu'd-Dunya who can be identified as Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā who was born in 208 (823 AD) and was the author of numerous *adab* works<sup>30</sup>. His works have been used by many authors. Arberry describes the contents of Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā's *Kitāb al-tawba* but does not mention this story as occurring in that work<sup>31</sup>.

It is of interest to note that this story appears in the Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar* (the long version, and not the short which has completely different contents). The links between the *Hikayat Bakhtiar* and Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* have been recognized for a long time<sup>32</sup>. More recently Voorhoeve has pointed out that it was the *Hikayat Bakhtiar* that borrowed from the *Bustan us-Salatin* and not vice versa<sup>33</sup>. This is certainly clear when the present story is compared with story number 65 in the *Hikayat Bakhtiar*<sup>34</sup>. The beginning of story number 65 has the same introductory words as story 1 except that here and there misreadings have occurred especially in the names. Such corruptions would lend support to the view that it was the *Hikayat Bakhtiar* that borrowed this story from the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

## Story 2

This story is present in the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfi'ī as story

---

<sup>27</sup> Hooykaas 1937 p 157.

<sup>28</sup> al-Turtūshi 1289 AH p 32, Spanish translation by Alarcón 1930 Vol 1 p 54-55. <sup>29</sup> Hamori 1974 p 154. <sup>30</sup> Enc of Islam Vol II pt 1 p 355.

<sup>31</sup> Arberry 1951 p 48-63. <sup>32</sup> Brandes 1895 p 270.

<sup>33</sup> Voorhoeve 1956 p 417. <sup>34</sup> Brandes Uittreksels 1895 p 402-403.



number 150<sup>35</sup>. There are certain Arabic words for which Nuruddin ar-Raniri has found equivalents in this story which are of interest. Al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> has *sabu<sup>c</sup>* (lion) for *harimau*, other examples are the Arabic *qafra* (wasteland) for *padang*, *shurba mā'* for *kendi yang berisi air* and the Arabic verb *zajara* (drive back) is rendered by the Malay *hardik*.

The story also appears in the *Hayāt al-hayawān* of Damīrī<sup>36</sup> and has been translated into French<sup>37</sup>. Much of the material in the *Hayāt al-hayawān* has been taken from al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup>'s works, the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazzālī and the *Sirāj al-mulūk* of al-Turtūshī. The works of the last three authors have all been used in the compilation of Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

### Story 3

This story would appear to be from the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup>, story number 208<sup>38</sup>. The Malay phrase *makan minum bersuka-sukaan* frequently found in the *Bustan us-Salatin* and other Malay works is in fact a literal translation of an Arabic idiom. The poem at the end of this story in the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* has been incorporated into the *Bustan us-Salatin* with a translation after every line; the Arabic source of this and other poems in the sources have been used in the reconstruction of the Arabic text of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, although the edition of the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* consulted contains many errors.

### Story 4

The Arabic source for this story would appear to be the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup>, number 209<sup>39</sup>. The word *padang* is used as an equivalent for the Arabic *falāḥ*. The story appears with little variation as number 66 in the Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar*<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 168-169. <sup>36</sup> Jayakar 1906 Vol 2 p 34.

<sup>37</sup> Basset 1926 p 455. <sup>38</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 150-151.

<sup>39</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 151-152. <sup>40</sup> Brandes 1895 p 270-271.

## 4 (i)

The poem to illustrate story number 4 also occurs in al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> after his story<sup>41</sup>.

## Story 5

This story has been printed in Niemann's collection of anecdotes<sup>42</sup> and appears to be a popular story in the Islamic world to judge from the Arabic and Malay works which have used it. In Arabic, the story is in the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> as number 211<sup>43</sup> and has been translated into French by Rene Basset<sup>44</sup>. It is also present in *al-Mustatraf fī kull fann mustazraf* by al-Ibshīhī who died in 1446 which has also been translated into French<sup>45</sup>. It is in the famous Persian work the *Mantiq al-tayr* by <sup>c</sup>Attār<sup>46</sup> in a more detailed form. For example, the account includes the cost of constructing the palace and mention of the Angel of Death.

In Malay, the story is also present in the *Hadikat al-azhar* by al-Fatani<sup>47</sup>. The *Hadikat al-azhar* appears to have been compiled from the *Kitāb jalīl mukhtasar min rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup>. Jones has suggested that the latter work was probably the source for the story in the *Hadikat al-azhar* whereas the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* is the source for the story in the *Bustan us-Salatin*<sup>48</sup>. He points out however that the translation of certain words conflicts with this postulation; for example, both Malay works have *maligai*, which is closer to al-Turtūshī's *qasr* than the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* which has *madīna* and the *Kitāb jalīl* which has *dār*. Examination of the translation of other words has produced equally conflicting results. Such problems may be resolved once adequate critical editions are provided for the three Arabic works concerned.

A comparison between the two Malay versions of the same story reveals some interesting features. The vocabulary of story 5 makes use of

<sup>41</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 152.

<sup>42</sup> Niemann 1892 Vol 1 p 232-233.

<sup>43</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 152.

<sup>44</sup> Basset 1926 p 503.

<sup>45</sup> Rat 1902 p 796.

<sup>46</sup> Smith 1932 p 40.

<sup>47</sup> al-Fatani 1958 p 49-50.

<sup>48</sup> Jones 1969 p 289-290.

more Arabic loan words than does the *Hadikat al-azhar*. As an example, the word for a flaw is always rendered as *aib* in story 5, but the *Hadikat al-azhar* uses *kecelaan*, *cedera* and *aib*. It is interesting to note that the Arabic *aksiya* is rendered by *kain bertampung-tampung* in story 5 whereas the *Hadikat al-azhar* uses *kain kasar*; and the Arabic verb *kharaba* is translated by *binasa* in story 5 and *roboh* in the *Hadikat al-azhar*. In general the *Hadikat al-azhar* has a more literal translation of Arabic idioms.

This story appears to have close links with one of the conversion themes in the *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim*; in fact it has become the basis of the abdication story in that *Hikayat*<sup>49</sup>.

#### Story 6

The Arabic source of this story would appear to be story number 212 of the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi'ī<sup>50</sup>. The story is also present as story number 14 in the *Kitāb al-tawābīn* of Ibn Qudama who was born in 541 (1147 AD) and died in 620 (1223 AD)<sup>51</sup>, but this is not remarkable as al-Yāfi'ī used works by Ibn Qudama in composing the *Rawd al-rayāhīn*, as he points out in his preface<sup>52</sup>.

The idea of the transitory nature of life in the verses of the poem finds a close parallel in another Malay work, the *Taj us-Salatin*:

Dan jalan yang di-hadapan itu teramat jauh dan sukar dan bakal  
jalan itu tiada dapat di-chari melainkan dalam dunia juga.<sup>53</sup>

The idea of provisions for the future life which is introduced in this story of Book IV and is repeated later, is found in only one verse of the Quran (2:194).

#### Story 7

The Arabic source of this story would appear to be number 192 of the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi'ī<sup>54</sup> and it has been included in an

<sup>49</sup>Jones 1969 p 289-290. <sup>50</sup>al-Yāfi'ī 1286 AH p 153.

<sup>51</sup>Makdisi (ed) 1961 p 43-44. <sup>52</sup>al-Yāfi'ī 1286 AH p 4.

<sup>53</sup>Hussain (ed) 1966 p 36. <sup>54</sup>al-Yāfi'ī 1286 AH p 145.

anthology of Arabic works published in Spain<sup>55</sup>. <sup>c</sup>Attār has a rather different version of this story in the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*<sup>56</sup> which has been translated into English by Arberry<sup>57</sup> and has been summarized in German<sup>58</sup>.

#### Story 8

This story occurs in Arabic as number 479 of the *Rawḍ al-rayḥīn* by al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>59</sup>. The motif of this story is also found in the *Nawādir* of Qalyūbi<sup>60</sup>; as Qalyūbi died in 1069 (1658 AD) this is probably too late a work to have been consulted by Nuruddīn ar-Raniri. The episode of the pearl falling from the sky is echoed in two old Hebrew stories<sup>61</sup>.

#### Story 9

This story occurs in Arabic as story number 500 of the *Rawḍ al-rayḥīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>62</sup>. The first verse found on the front of the palace whose occupants have died finds a close parallel in a *Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf* by al-Ibshīhī in a verse which has been translated as follows:

Ce palais était la résidence de personnes que j'ai connues, gens qui y menaient une vie opulente, somptueuse et exempte de tout péril.

Les calamités de la fortune lancerent contre eux leurs cris lugubres et ils furent transportés dans la tombe; actuellement il ne reste plus d'eux ni trace ni vestige.<sup>63</sup>

#### 9 (i)

These words do not occur in the version of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup>, and they appear to have been inserted by Nuruddīn ar-Raniri; all the *naṣīhat* in this work in fact seem to be his own compositions.

<sup>55</sup>Gomez 1963 p 43-44. <sup>56</sup>Nicholson (ed) 1905 Vol 1 p 313-314.

<sup>57</sup>Arberry 1966 p 184. <sup>58</sup>Hallauer 1925 p 53 note 2.

<sup>59</sup>al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 299-300. <sup>60</sup>Rescher 1920 p 38 no 43.

<sup>61</sup>Gaster 1924 p 91, p 157. <sup>62</sup>al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 315.

<sup>63</sup>Rat 1902 p 799.

## 9 (ii)

These verses appear in two places in the Quran 3:182 and 57:20.

## 9 (iii)

This is a popular *hadith* and occurs in the *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim*<sup>64</sup> and the *Syarabu'l Asyikin* of Hamzah Fansuri<sup>65</sup>. This *hadith* can be found with variations in the following:

1. Bukhārī, *Riḳāq* (no 81) *Bāb* 3<sup>66</sup>.
2. Tirmidhī, *Zuhd* (no 34) *Bāb* 25<sup>67</sup>.
3. Ibn Māja, *Zuhd* (no 37) *Bāb* 3<sup>68</sup>.
4. Ahmad ibn Hanbal Volume 2 pages 24, 41 and 132 (1313 AH).

This *hadith* also occurs in the *Mishkāṭ al-masābīḥ*<sup>69</sup>; the *Mishkāṭ al-masābīḥ* was written by al-Baghawī and revised by al-Tibrīzī. Nuruddin ar-Raniri acknowledges the use of a work by al-Baghawī in the introduction to the *Bustan us-Salatīn*. The *hadith* is included in the forty traditions of al-Nawawī<sup>70</sup>.

The *hadith* was used earlier in the *Bustan us-Salatīn* - in Book III (Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 p 406), but it is interesting to note that the Malay translation of the Arabic in Book III is rather different:

Jadikan dirimu dalam dunia ini seperti dagang atau seperti yang melalui jalan raya dan bilangkan dirimu daripada segala orang yang isi kubur.

## Story 10

Nuruddin ar-Raniri attributes this story to Imam Ghazali but it cannot be traced in either of the two works by al-Chazzālī which are the most extensively used in the *Bustan us-Salatīn*, the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* or the *Nasīḥat al-mulūk*. It is possible that the story may have been overlooked because of its brevity, or that it may occur

<sup>64</sup>Jones 1969 p 102 and 248. <sup>65</sup>al-Attas 1970 p 305.

<sup>66</sup>Juynboll (ed) 1908 p 211 where it is twice; Trans by Houdas 1914 p 272. <sup>67</sup>Tirmidhī 1937 Vol 9 p 203. <sup>68</sup>Ibn Māja 1953 Vol 2 p 1378.

<sup>69</sup>Robson 1963 Vol 3 p 1093. <sup>70</sup>Jeffery 1962 p 159.

in another work by al-Ghazzālī. Another possibility is that this story is to be found in a work not by al-Ghazzālī, but in a work which cites al-Ghazzālī as its authority.

The message of the story, that when in God's presence all else is forgotten, finds an echo in many other stories<sup>71</sup>.

#### 10 (i)

These are Nuruddin ar-Raniri's own words.

#### 10 (ii)

These words are from the Quran 2:147. This verse from the Quran is frequently used by the Sufi and according to Burckhardt<sup>72</sup> it is important to recognize that this implies evocation as well as invocation.

#### 10 (iii)

These words are from the Quran 33:41.

#### 10 (iv)

The authority for this *hadith* has not been traced but it would appear to be a popular saying as it is quoted as a saying by the woman mystic Rābi'a<sup>73</sup>.

#### Story 11

This story has been found in two Arabic works, first as story number 17 of the *Rawḍ al-rayāhīn* by al-Yāfi'ī<sup>74</sup> and second as story number 73 of the *Kitāb al-tawwābīn* of Ibn Qudama<sup>75</sup>. The links between the two works have already been established (see note on story 6). The lines quoted are from the Quran 83:22-28. The mention of the female singers being hidden behind a curtain is of interest; it was still common in 19th century Egypt for a group of female singers to be divided from the male audience by a screen<sup>76</sup>.

---

<sup>71</sup>Subhan 1960 p 281. <sup>72</sup>Burckhardt 1963 p 72-73

<sup>73</sup>Arberry 1966 p 50. <sup>74</sup>al-Yāfi'ī 1286 AH p 41-42.

<sup>75</sup>Makdisi (ed) 1961 p 176-181. <sup>76</sup>Lane 1860 p 355.

The story appears in the long Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar* as story number 67<sup>77</sup> where it appears to have been borrowed from the *Bustan us-Salatin* as do stories 1 and 4.

#### Story 12

The story has not been found in any of the Arabic works which Nuruddin ar-Raniri lists as his references used in the compilation of this book of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. The story is in another Malay work, the *Taj us-Salatin*, which has drawn on similar material to the *Bustan us-Salatin*<sup>78</sup>. There are only slight differences between the two versions of this story in Malay.

#### 12 (i)

This can be assumed to be in Nuruddin ar-Raniri's own words.

#### 12 (ii)

The authority for this *hadith* has not been traced, the Arabic appears to have been corrupted.

#### Story 13

This is one of the most popular legends about Iskandar in the Islamic world. The story in the *Bustan us-Salatin* also marks the beginning of a section where Nuruddin ar-Raniri draws on a block of material from the works of al-Ghazzālī. In the edition of al-Ghazzālī's *Nasīhat al-mulūk* by Humā'ī<sup>79</sup>, the story occurs on pages 430-432; it has been translated into English<sup>80</sup>. There is no evidence that Nuruddin ar-Raniri used the original Persian rather than an Arabic translation of the work; there are no Persian loan words within the text.

The story can be found in two other works by al-Ghazzālī, the *Ihyā'*

---

<sup>77</sup> Brandes 1895 p 271.

<sup>78</sup> Hussain 1966 p 159-160, translated into French by Marre 1878 p 261-262 and into English by Basset and Starkweather 1901 p 176.

<sup>79</sup> Humā'ī 1351 SH. <sup>80</sup> Bagley 1971 p 42-43.

*ʿulūm al-dīn* in Book 27<sup>81</sup> and the *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarrib ilā ḥadrat ʿilām al-ghuyūb*<sup>82</sup>. It also occurs in the *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn* of al-Zabīdī<sup>83</sup>. Al-Zabīdī's work is a commentary on the *Ihyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*<sup>84</sup> but as he was not born until 1732 AD, this work could not have been consulted by Nuruddin ar-Raniri. The story is also to be found in the *Hayāt al-ḥayawān* of al-Damīrī<sup>85</sup> and the *Akhbār al-Iskandar* of Mubashshir<sup>86</sup>.

The story occurs in the 1001 nights amongst a collection of anecdotes and biographies of saints and Sufis<sup>87</sup>; this has been translated into French<sup>88</sup>. Ultimately derived from a Jewish legend, this story passed from there into the pseudo-Callisthenes<sup>89</sup>; and then to variations of a story of Iskandar and the Gymnosophists which is common to all the Alexander Romance accounts. The reason that the king gives for their reluctance to eat anything but grass finds an echo in a verse from the *Gulistan* of Saʿdī<sup>90</sup>.

According to Gerhardt<sup>91</sup> the 14th century author Mustawfī has made the Prophet Muhammad the hero of this story instead of Iskandar. Such a transfer has also occurred in a Saharan version<sup>92</sup>, although the story also exists in the more usual form in North Africa<sup>93</sup>.

In Malay a similar story is to be found in the *Hikayat Iskandar*<sup>94</sup>. Iskandar whilst travelling comes to a tribe called Trymanium where the people live near graves which they tend; their king is named Raja Farzil. The conversation between the two kings in the two Malay accounts is in a similar vein but the detail is different.

The episode of the king producing two skulls to show Iskandar finds a parallel in the famous stories of Isa and the skull which speaks

<sup>81</sup>Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 267-268. <sup>82</sup>Ghazzālī nd p 178-179.

<sup>83</sup>al-Zabīdī nd Vol 8 p 228-229. <sup>84</sup>Brockelmann 1902 p 287.

<sup>85</sup>Jayakar 1906 Vol 2 p 454-456. <sup>86</sup>Meissner 1895 p 617 and p 626-627.

<sup>87</sup>Gerhardt 1963 p 359-360. <sup>88</sup>Basset 1926 p 141-144.

<sup>89</sup>Abel 1955 p 36-37. <sup>90</sup>Platts 1889 p 102.

<sup>91</sup>Gerhardt 1963 p 359 note 3. <sup>92</sup>Norris 1972 p 100-102.

<sup>93</sup>Norris 1972 p 50. <sup>94</sup>Van Leeuwen 1937 p 201-202.



of its past life. The latter story is famous throughout the Islamic world through the *Qisas al-anbiyā'*,<sup>95</sup> and in the Malay world it is dealt with at length in the *Hikayat Raja Junjumah*.<sup>96</sup>

13 (i)

These are Nuruddin ar-Raniri's own words of advice.

13 (ii)

These words are from the Quran 67:2.

13 (iii)

The authority of this *hadith* has not been traced but it would seem likely that Nuruddin ar-Raniri has taken it from the *Nasīhat al-mulūk* of al-Ghazzālī.<sup>97</sup>

13 (iv)

The authority of this *hadith* has not been traced but it occurs after the previous *hadith* in the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*.

13 (v)

This poem in Persian does not appear in the *Nasīhat al-mulūk* according to the list of verses in that work recorded by Humā'ī (1351 SH). The verse may therefore be in only certain manuscripts of the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*; it is however to be found in the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī.<sup>98</sup>

13 (vi)

This small section is derived from the *Nasīhat al-mulūk* of al-Ghazzālī<sup>99</sup> which quotes from a work by Abū'l-Hasan al-Ahwāzī, the *Kitāb al-farā'id wa-'l-qalā'id*. Al-Ahwāzī may be the author of another work, the *Durar al-ghurar*, cited at the beginning of the *Bustan us-Salatin* (Section 5.1).

---

<sup>95</sup>Weil 1845 p 285. <sup>96</sup>*Hikayat Raja Junjumah* 1823 p 249-256.

<sup>97</sup>Humā'ī 1351 SH p 432-433, translated by Bagley 1971 p 44.

<sup>98</sup>Johnson (ed) 1863 p 37, translated by Platts 1889 p 57.

<sup>99</sup>Bagley 1971 p 99.

13 (vii)

These verses also occur in the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*<sup>100</sup>. Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb ibn Layth is a popular hero in anecdotes; there is a story of his conquest of Khurasan in the Malay *Taj us-Salatin*<sup>101</sup>.

Story '14

This story occurs in three works by al-Ghazzālī, in the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*<sup>102</sup>, in the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* Book 26<sup>103</sup> and in the *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarrib ilā ḥadrat 'ilām al-ghayūb*<sup>104</sup>. It also occurs in al-Zabīdī's commentary on the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, the *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn*<sup>105</sup>.

The story occurs in two other Arabic works; there is a brief version in the *Sirāj al-mulūk* of al-Turtūshī<sup>106</sup> and it can also be found in *al-Mustatraf fī kull fann mustazraf* by al-Ibshīhī<sup>107</sup>.

14 (i)

The canonical authority for this *ḥadīth* cannot be traced but it is quoted in four works by al-Ghazzālī. It is to be found in the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*<sup>108</sup>, the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* Book 26<sup>109</sup>, the *Kīmīyā' al-sā'ada*<sup>110</sup> and the *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarrib ilā ḥadrat 'ilām al-ghayūb*<sup>111</sup>. It also occurs in al-Zabīdī's commentary on the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*<sup>112</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> Humā'ī 1351 SH p 174, translated by Bagley 1971 p 99.

<sup>101</sup> Marre 1878 p 345-349.

<sup>102</sup> Humā'ī 1351 SH p 421-422, translated by Bagley 1971 p 37-38.

<sup>103</sup> Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 199. <sup>104</sup> Ghazzālī nd p 84-85.

<sup>105</sup> al-Zabīdī nd Vol 8 p 84.

<sup>106</sup> al-Turtūshī 1289 AH p 13, Spanish translation by Alarcón 1930 Vol 1 p 14-15. <sup>107</sup> Rat 1902 p 780-781.

<sup>108</sup> Humā'ī 1351 SH p 416, translated by Bagley 1971 p 33.

<sup>109</sup> Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 200. <sup>110</sup> Field 1910 p 45.

<sup>111</sup> Ghazzālī nd p 86. <sup>112</sup> al-Zabīdī nd Vol 8 p 86.

## 14 (ii)

This saying can be found in four works by al-Ghazzālī, the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*<sup>113</sup>, the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* Book 26<sup>114</sup>, the *Kimīyā' al-sa'āda*<sup>115</sup> and the *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarrib ilā ḥadrat 'ilām al-ghuyūb*<sup>116</sup>. It occurs in al-Zabīdī's commentary on the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*<sup>117</sup>.

## 14 (iii)

This analogy can also be found in four works by al-Ghazzālī, the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*<sup>118</sup>, the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* Book 26<sup>119</sup>, the *Kimīyā' al-sa'āda*<sup>120</sup> and the *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarrib ilā ḥadrat 'ilām al-ghuyūb*<sup>121</sup>. It occurs in the *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn* of al-Zabīdī<sup>122</sup>. The image of the world being like a shadow appears to be common in Islamic literature; it occurs in Swahili poetry<sup>123</sup>.

## 14 (iv)

This comparison between women and the world is frequently found in Sufi literature. It can be found in four works of al-Ghazzālī, the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*<sup>124</sup>, the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* Book 26<sup>125</sup>, the *Kimīyā' al-sa'āda*<sup>126</sup> and the *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarrib ilā ḥadrat 'ilām al-ghuyūb*<sup>127</sup>. It occurs in al-Zabīdī's commentary on the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*<sup>128</sup>.

The comparison also occurs in the Malay *Taj us-Salatin*<sup>129</sup> and the *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim*<sup>130</sup>.

<sup>113</sup>Humā'ī 1351 SH p 416, translated by Bagley 1971 p 33.

<sup>114</sup>Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 200. <sup>115</sup>Field 1910 p 45.

<sup>116</sup>Ghazzālī nd p 89. <sup>117</sup>al-Zabīdī nd Vol 8 p 91.

<sup>118</sup>Humā'ī 1351 SH p 416, translated by Bagley 1971 p 33.

<sup>119</sup>Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 203. <sup>120</sup>Field 1910 p 45.

<sup>121</sup>Ghazzālī nd p 89. <sup>122</sup>al-Zabīdī nd Vol 8 p 91.

<sup>123</sup>Knappert 1967 p 35.

<sup>124</sup>Humā'ī 1351 SH p 416, translated by Bagley 1971 p 33.

<sup>125</sup>Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 210. <sup>126</sup>Field 1910 p 45.

<sup>127</sup>Ghazzālī nd p 89. <sup>128</sup>al-Zabīdī nd Vol 8 p 107.

<sup>129</sup>Hussain 1966 p 38-39; Marre 1878 p 64.

<sup>130</sup>Jones 1969 p 102 and p 249-251.

## Story 15

This is the first of three stories concerned with Isa in Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin*. The Quran, which normally uses the title Ibn Maryam for Isa, recognizes the virgin birth of Isa, places him in a higher rank than that of all preceding prophets and states that he was supported by the Holy Spirit in the performance of miracles<sup>131</sup>. It is noticeable that in these stories the humanity of Isa is especially stressed<sup>132</sup> and the healing stories of Isa based, however loosely, on those in the Quran are very popular.

There are many more stories which concern Isa which have not come from the Quran; many of these have come from the traditions but very many more are obviously based on the Gospels and others are from the Judeo-Christian apocryphal Gospels. Isa has become especially connected with asceticism, which may be due to links with the Nestorian Church of Mesopotamia<sup>133</sup>, and thus Isa is represented as having no home, walking barefoot, with no property and no provisions except a day's food. For the Sufi, Isa is of all the Envoys (*rusūl*), the most perfect type of contemplative saint<sup>134</sup>.

Some western scholars have been especially attracted to the stories about Isa in the major Muslim works; whereas others have concentrated on the treatment of Isa in the works of al-Ghazzālī<sup>135</sup>. This particular story has been known to western scholars since at least the 18th century<sup>136</sup>.

This story of Isa would appear to be a corruption of the New Testament story of Jesus' encounter with the woman of Samaria (John 4). It is numbered 45 in Palacios' collection<sup>137</sup> and appears in the following works of al-Ghazzālī: The *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-dīn* Book 26<sup>138</sup>, the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*<sup>139</sup> and the *Kīmīyā' al-sa'āda*<sup>140</sup>. It is commented

<sup>131</sup> al-Husayni 1960 p 299. <sup>132</sup> Parrinder 1965 p 116.

<sup>133</sup> Robson 1939 p 47. <sup>134</sup> Burckhardt 1963 p 8.

<sup>135</sup> Zwemer 1917. <sup>136</sup> Cardonne 1783 p 469-470.

<sup>137</sup> Palacios 1916, 1926 p 375-376. <sup>138</sup> Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 210.

<sup>139</sup> Humā'ī 1351 SH p 416-417, translated by Bagley 1971 p 33-34.

<sup>140</sup> Field 1910 p 46.

upon by al-Zabīdī in the *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn*<sup>141</sup>.

The story is quoted by Margoliouth<sup>142</sup>, Robson<sup>143</sup> and Hayek<sup>144</sup> who have taken it from the works of al-Ghazzālī, but the story also appears in other Arabic works: It occurs in an abbreviated form in the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfi'ī<sup>145</sup> and in a much elaborated form in the *Elahī-Nameh* of 'Attār<sup>146</sup>. A story in a similar vein but not involving Isa can be found in *al-Mustatraf fī kull fann mustazraf* by al-Ibshīhī<sup>147</sup>.

## Story 16

### (a)

The second chapter of Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* commences at this point with a quotation from Quran 4:71-72, with a Malay translation added. The emphasis of this chapter which deals with saints is immediately made obvious by the quotation which shows the reader, or the listener, that obedience to God will ensure future company amongst the saints. The term *walī* (and its plural *awliyā'*) has a special significance in the way it is used by Sufis as it became the word for a class of people who because of their holiness are near to God and receive through His favour miraculous gifts which are called *karāmāt*<sup>148</sup>. This kind of miracle must be distinguished from the miracles performed by a prophet which are called *mu'jizāt*.

Nuruddin ar-Raniri then gives the story of the Prophet and his companion Thauban, narrating the events which led to the revelation of the above verse of the Quran to the Prophet. This tradition is included in the commentary of al-Baghawī on Quran 4:71-72, in his *Ma'ālīm al-tanzīl*<sup>149</sup>; this work is mentioned by Nuruddin ar-Raniri at the beginning of the *Bustan us-Salatin* as one of his sources.

---

<sup>141</sup> al-Zabīdī nd Vol 8 p 107-108. <sup>142</sup> Margoliouth 1895 p 178.

<sup>143</sup> Robson 1929 p 68. <sup>144</sup> Hayek 1959 p 181-182.

<sup>145</sup> al-Yāfi'ī 1286 AH p 209, translated by Basset 1926 p 161.

<sup>146</sup> Rouhani 1961 p 134-136. <sup>147</sup> Rat 1902 p 781-782.

<sup>148</sup> Nicholson 1963 p 122. <sup>149</sup> al-Baghawī 1295 AH p 238.

It is also in the *Kitāb asbāb al-nuzūl* of al-Wāhidī<sup>150</sup> who continues with other stories about the revelation of this verse of the Quran. Nuruddin ar-Raniri mentions a *tafsīr Wāhidī* at the beginning of the *Bustan us-Salatīn* but does not specify which of his famous *tafsīr* was being used.

#### 16 (i)

This *hadith* can be found in the following:

Bukhārī, *Riqāq* (no 81) *Bāb* 38<sup>151</sup>.

It is also included in the *Mishkāt al-masābīh*<sup>152</sup> and a variant of this *hadith*, much abbreviated, occurs in Ahmad ibn Hanbal's *Musnad* Volume 6 page 256. Graham has a long discussion on this *hadith* and its occurrence in Arabic literature noting that it is in the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazzālī<sup>153</sup>. The Malay work *Syarabu'l Asyikin* by Hamzah Fansuri contains a *hadith* in a similar vein<sup>154</sup>.

#### 16 (ii)

This *hadith* occurs with variations in the following authorities:

1. Ahmad ibn Hanbal Volume 5 pages 252 and 255 (1313 AH)
2. Tirmidhī, *Zuhd* (no 34) *Bāb* 35<sup>155</sup>.
3. According to Wensinck<sup>156</sup> it also occurs in Ibn Māja, *Zuhd* (no 37) *Bāb* 14, but it is not to be found in the 1953 edition of that work.

#### Story 17

With this story Nuruddin ar-Raniri changes his sources, reverting to al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> once again. The present story appears to be derived from the collection of *hadith* set out before the 500 stories in the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>157</sup>. Nuruddin ar-Raniri attributes this story to Ibn Masud; this would appear to be the Ibn Mas<sup>c</sup>ud who was a companion of the Prophet and whose traditions are collected in

<sup>150</sup> al-Wāhidī 1315 AH p 122.

<sup>151</sup> Juynboll (ed) 1908 p 231, translated by Houdas 1914 p 296.

<sup>152</sup> Robson 1963 Vol 2 p 477. <sup>153</sup> Graham 1977 p 173-174.

<sup>154</sup> al-Attas 1970 p 299. <sup>155</sup> Tirmidhī 1937 Vol 9 p 209.

<sup>156</sup> Wensinck 1936 Vol 1 p 478. <sup>157</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 11.

the *Musnad Ahmad*<sup>158</sup>.

Saints and their ranks are a preoccupation of the Sufis and the ascending series of saints is discussed by Hujwiri in the *Kashf al-Mahjūb*:

But of those who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine Court there are three hundred, called Akhyār, and forty, called Abdāl, and seven, called Abrār, and four, called Awtād, and three, called Nuqabā, and one, called Qutb or Ghawth.<sup>159</sup>

#### 17 (i)

This section is amongst the collection of *hadith* in the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>160</sup>. The *hadith* is also in the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Hanbal<sup>161</sup>.

#### 17 (ii)

This section is also in the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>162</sup>.

#### 17 (iii)

This *hadith* has not been traced in any of the canonical authorities but it is amongst the collection of *hadith* in the early part of the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>163</sup>.

#### Story 18

This story would also appear to be based on the *hadith* section at the beginning of the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>164</sup>.

#### Story 19

This story is numbered 411 in the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>165</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Enc of Islam Vol II pt 1 p 403.

<sup>159</sup> Nicholson 1911 p 214. <sup>160</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 12.

<sup>161</sup> Ahmad ibn Hanbal 1313 AH Vol 1 p 103.

<sup>162</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 12. <sup>163</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 11.

<sup>164</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 12. <sup>165</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 256-257.

and Nuruddin ar-Raniri acknowledges al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> as the source. The Arabic quoted within the text is from Quran 6:90.

#### Story 20

This is numbered 182 in the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>166</sup>.

#### Story 21

This story, like number 10, acknowledges Imam Ghazali as its source but in neither case can they be traced in either the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* or the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*. It may have been overlooked, but like story number 10, perhaps it is to be found in a work not by al-Ghazzālī but in a work which cites al-Ghazzālī as its authority.

#### 21 (i)

These would appear to be Nuruddin ar-Raniri's own words of advice.

#### 21 (ii)

No source has been found for this theme.

#### Story 22

This is numbered 297 in the *Rawd al-rayāhīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>167</sup>; Nuruddin ar-Raniri acknowledges al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> as the source.

#### 22 (i)

This advice would appear to be in Nuruddin ar-Raniri's own words.

#### 22 (ii)

This citation is from Quran 65:4. When Nuruddin ar-Raniri's translation of this verse is compared to that of Abdul Rauf's translation of *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* of Baidāwī it is noticeable that the wording is very similar:

Dan barang siapa takut akan Allah Taala niscaya dijadikan baginya daripada pekerjaannya mudah di dalam dunia dan di

---

<sup>166</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 142.      <sup>167</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 194-195.



dalam akhirat.<sup>168</sup>

When other verses translated from the Quran are compared similarities in the wording again emerge leading to the conclusion that there were certain conventions in translating Arabic into Malay. It may however be that the literal translation which was especially important for religious texts has merely appeared as a convention.

22 (iii)

This *hadith* has not been traced in any of the canonical authorities.

### Story 23

This story appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity to judge from the number of Arabic works which have made use of it. It occurs as story number 300 in the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfi'ī<sup>169</sup> and is to be found and discussed amongst the collection of René Basset<sup>170</sup>. The story also occurs in the 1001 nights. The 1001 nights has taken this story from al-Yāfi'ī and included it amongst a collection of tales and biographies of saints and Sufis<sup>171</sup>. The story in the 1001 nights is rather different from that of al-Yāfi'ī's. In the 1001 nights there is no mention of the gold locusts, instead a ruby. The story in the 1001 nights includes the episode of the miraculous filling of the oven with loaves and the vision of the pious man's wife, indicating that the compiler of the story in the 1001 nights has included material from several sources in his story.

The Arabic phrase rendered by the Malay *belalang daripada emas* has been investigated. In the edition of the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* used for this study, the phrase is *jirāb min dhahab* (a bag of gold), however in the translation of the story by Basset (1926) he has rendered it as *sauterelles d'or* (gold locusts); thus it is likely that rather than *jirāb* the word was *jarād* (locust) in the version used by Nuruddin ar-Raniri. Gold locusts were frequently granted by God to pious men in Sufi stories. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that where *jirāb* is used by al-Yāfi'ī in an earlier story, it

---

<sup>168</sup> Baidawī 1901-1902 p 559. <sup>169</sup> al-Yāfi'ī 1286 AH p 197.

<sup>170</sup> Basset 1926 p 486-488. <sup>171</sup> Gerhardt 1963 p 367-368.

is rendered by the Malay *garba* (MS A p 291). The version of the story in the *Bustan us-Salatīn* is faithful to the one of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup>.

The story is also found in another Arabic work, the *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* of Naṣr ibn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī<sup>172</sup> which closely follows the version in the 1001 nights. This work was used by al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> in compiling the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*<sup>173</sup>. The story is also in a modern Arabic work, the *Nafḥat al-Yaman* of al-Shirwānī<sup>174</sup>.

In Malay the story occurs in the *Hadikat al-azhar* of al-Fatani<sup>175</sup> probably being taken from the *Kitāb jalīl mukhtasar min rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup>.

### 23 (i)

This moral that Nūruddīn ar-Raniri draws from the story is in his own words.

### 23 (ii)

These words are from Quran 16:128.

### 23 (iii)

This *ḥadīth qudsī* has not been traced in any of the canonical authorities; it is not amongst those listed by Graham (1977).

### Story 24

This is one of the most popular of all stories related concerning Isa and it has been known to the western world since at least the 18th century<sup>176</sup>. It is numbered 54 in Palacios' collection<sup>177</sup> where the different Arabic versions are discussed. It occurs in the following works of al-Ghazzālī: The *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* Book 27<sup>178</sup>, the *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarrib ilā ḥadrat 'ilām al-ghuyūb*<sup>179</sup>,

<sup>172</sup> al-Samarqandī nd p 225-226. <sup>173</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 4.

<sup>174</sup> Rescher 1920 p 38. <sup>175</sup> al-Fatani 1958 p 50-51.

<sup>176</sup> Cardonne 1783 p 470. <sup>177</sup> Palacios 1916, 1926 p 383- 389.

<sup>178</sup> Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 267.

<sup>179</sup> Ghazzālī nd p 177-178.

and a brief version in the *Nasīhat al-mulūk*<sup>180</sup>. It is also in al-Zabīdī's commentary on the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, the *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn*<sup>181</sup>.

The story is to be found also in the following Arabic works: The *Sirāj al-mulūk* of al-Turtūshī<sup>182</sup>, the *Hayāt al-hayawān* of al-Damīrī<sup>183</sup>, *al-Mustatraf fī kull fann mustazraf* of al-Ibshīhī<sup>184</sup>. The story also occurs in the 1001 nights<sup>185</sup>. There are also translations, based mainly on al-Ghazzālī, by Zwemer<sup>186</sup>, Robson<sup>187</sup>, Hayek<sup>188</sup>, Khawam<sup>189</sup> and Basset<sup>190</sup>; the last named has a long discussion on the variations of this story in both Islamic and Christian literature. According to Basset, this story is also in the *Qūt al-qulūb* of al-Makkī which is not surprising as that work has taken a great deal from the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazzālī.

The story also occurs in the *Qisas al-anbiyā'* of Tha<sup>c</sup>labī<sup>191</sup>. Popular versions of the tale, probably based on the *Qisas al-anbiyā'* appear to exist in many Islamic cultures, there is one in Swahili<sup>192</sup> so it is not surprising to find variations of this story in Javanese<sup>193</sup> and in the Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar*<sup>194</sup>. The popularity of this legend is probably due to the abundance of miraculous episodes in it.

#### 24 (i)

These are Nuruddin ar-Raniri's own words of advice.

---

<sup>180</sup> Bagley 1971 p 38. <sup>181</sup> al-Zabīdī nd Vol 8 p 228.

<sup>182</sup> al-Turtūshī 1289 AH p 30, Spanish translation by Alarcón 1930 Vol 1 p 49-51. <sup>183</sup> Jayakar 1906 Vol 1 p 676-677.

<sup>184</sup> Rat 1902 p 792-794. <sup>185</sup> Burton nd p 250-251.

<sup>186</sup> Zwemer 1917 p 147-148. <sup>187</sup> Robson 1929 p 97.

<sup>188</sup> Hayek 1959 p 183. <sup>189</sup> Khawam 1976 p 160-163.

<sup>190</sup> Basset 1926 p 180-183.

<sup>191</sup> Jeffery 1962 p 583-586, summarised by Hastings 1908 Vol 2 p 885.

<sup>192</sup> Knappert 1970 p 63-64.

<sup>193</sup> Hoesoo 1873 p 268-271, translated from Dutch into German by

Bezemer 1904 p 24-26. <sup>194</sup> Baharuddin Zainal (ed) 1963 no 22.

## 24 (ii)

This verse from the Quran appears in two places 8:28, 64:15 and is also in the *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* Book 27<sup>195</sup> at the beginning of the chapter on the faults of greed and covetousness. It is also used in the Malay *Taj us-Salatin*<sup>196</sup>.

## 24 (iii)

This is a frequently cited *hadith* and occurs with variations in the following canonical authorities:

1. Bukhārī, *Riḳāq* (no 81) *Bāb* 10<sup>197</sup>; it is given by Bukhārī as an explanation of the words in Quran 8:28 (see 24 (ii)).
2. Muslim, *Zakāt* (no 12) number 116 and 119<sup>198</sup>.
3. Tirmidhī, *Zuhd* (no 34) *Bāb* 27<sup>199</sup> and *Manāqib* (no 46) *Bāb* 32.
4. Ibn Māja, *Zuhd* (no 37) *Bāb* 27<sup>200</sup>.
5. Ahmad ibn Hanbal (1313 AH) - Volume 1 page 370; Volume 3 pages 122, 168, 176, 192, 198, 236, 238, 247, 272, 340 and 341; Volume 4 page 368; Volume 5 page 117 (passim), 131, 132 and 219; Volume 6 page 55.
6. According to Wensinck<sup>201</sup> it also occurs in al-Dārimī, *Riḳāq* (no 20) *Bāb* 62, but this has not been verified.

The *hadith* is cited in the *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* Book 27<sup>202</sup> and is commented upon by al-Zabīdī in the *Iḥāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn*<sup>203</sup>. It is in the *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarrib ilā ḥaḍrat 'ilān al-ghuyūb* of al-Ghazzālī<sup>204</sup>. It is also included in the *Mishkāṭ al-masābīḥ*<sup>205</sup>.

## Story 25

Possible Arabic sources for this story have not been established.

Nuruddin ar-Raniri acknowledges Syekh Muhammad anak Abu Bakar as its source. Jones<sup>206</sup> argues that from the character of a story in the

<sup>195</sup>Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 226. <sup>196</sup>Hussain (ed) 1966 p 37.

<sup>197</sup>Juynboll (ed) 1908 p 216, trans into French by Houdas 1914 p 277.

<sup>198</sup>Muslim 1329-1334 AH p 99-100, English trans by Siddiqi 1972 Vol 2 p 500. <sup>199</sup>Tirmidhī 1937 Vol 9 p 205. <sup>200</sup>Ibn Māja 1953 Vol 2 p 1415.

<sup>201</sup>Wensinck 1936 Vol 1 p 266. <sup>202</sup>Ghazzālī 1939 Vol 3 p 232.

<sup>203</sup>al-Zabīdī nd Vol 8 p 107-108. <sup>204</sup>Ghazzālī nd p 99.

<sup>205</sup>Robson 1963 Vol 3 p 1092. <sup>206</sup>Jones 1974 p 41.

early part of Chapter 1 of this book that such an acknowledgement could lead one to a version of the *Sirāj al-mulūk* of al-Turtūshī but neither his nor this anecdote is to be found in that work. Syekh Muḥammad anak Abu Bakar is quoted as the source of stories elsewhere in the *Bustan us-Salatin* (see for example Book V in Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 p 784 and Book VI in Leiden Cod Or 1694 p 136). The quotations from the Quran in this anecdote are from 14:49, 21:104 and 11:116 respectively. The first *hadith* cited in this story is derived from Ibn Māja, *Zuhd* (no 37) *Bāb* 30<sup>207</sup>.

### Story 26

This story is numbered 262 in the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup><sup>208</sup>. A rather different account of the conversion of Fudail ibn <sup>c</sup>Iyād is given in the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* of <sup>c</sup>Attār<sup>209</sup> and in the *Kashf al-Mahjūb* of Hujwīrī<sup>210</sup>. The verses quoted from the Quran in this story are from 57:15, 51:50 and 39:55 respectively.

The Malay *Hikayat Muḥammad Mukabil* has a similar story of Raja Harun ar-Rasyid and a robber who quote verses of the Quran at each other<sup>211</sup>.

### 26 (i)

These words of advice would appear to be in Nuruddin ar-Raniri's own words.

### 26 (ii)

This verse is from Quran 39:23.

### 26 (iii)

This *hadith* which explains the circumstances surrounding the revelation of Quran 39:23 is included in the commentary of al-Baghawī on the verse. His *Ma<sup>c</sup>ālīm al-tanzīl*, a work mentioned by Nuruddin ar-Raniri at the beginning of the *Bustan us-Salatin*, gives the

<sup>207</sup> Ibn Māja 1953 Vol 2 p 1420.

<sup>208</sup> al-Yāfi<sup>cī</sup> 1286 AH p 176-177.

<sup>209</sup> Nicholson (ed) 1905 Vol 1 p 74-77, trans by Arberry 1966 p 53.

<sup>210</sup> Nicholson 1911 p 97. <sup>211</sup> Drewes 1970 p 309-331.

account of the events as here<sup>212</sup>.

#### Story 27

This story occurs in the *Nasīhat al-mulūk* of al-Ghazzālī<sup>213</sup> and twice very briefly in *al-Mustatraf fī kull fann mustatraf* by al-Ibshīhī<sup>214</sup>. The story can also be found in the *Nawādir* of Qalyūbi<sup>215</sup> but as Qalyūbi died in 1658 AD, the same year as Nuruddin ar-Raniri, this was probably too late a work to have been used in the compilation of the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

The son of the Mubarak in this story, Abdullah ibn Mubarak, became a famous ascetic<sup>216</sup> and Nuruddin ar-Raniri has a story about him in Book VI Chapter 1.

#### Story 28

This is possibly one of the longest stories in the *Bustan us-Salatin* and it is certainly the longest in Book IV. It occurs in a much elaborated form in the *Elahi-Nameh* of Attar<sup>217</sup>. Nuruddin ar-Raniri attributes this story to Kaabu'l-Ahbari. He can be identified as Abū Ishāq Ka<sup>c</sup>b al-Ahbār who is the source of many of the Jewish-Muslim traditions<sup>218</sup>.

The bribing of the four old men by Husna's brother-in-law is to fulfil the legal requirements for four eye-witnesses to establish a charge of adultery, this is laid down in Quran 4:20 and is discussed by Nuruddin ar-Raniri in his work *al-Fawa'id al-bahiyah*<sup>219</sup>. *Dinar* and *dirham* seem to be interchangeable in this story, even though the *dinar* was the standard gold coin of the Muslim world and the *dirham*, the standard silver coin. The conversion rate of the coins varied,

---

<sup>212</sup> al-Baghawī 1295 AH p 769. <sup>213</sup> Bagley 1971 p 158-159.

<sup>214</sup> Rat 1899 p 238-239, 1902 p 591.

<sup>215</sup> Rescher 1920 p 90-92 no 114.

<sup>216</sup> Arberry 1966 p 124-126. <sup>217</sup> Rouhani 1961 p 71-86.

<sup>218</sup> Enc of Islam Vol II pt 2 p 582-583.

<sup>219</sup> al-Fatani circa 1960 p 234.

but here they appear to be regarded as equivalents.

In Malay this story is found in the long *Hikayat Bakhtiar*<sup>220</sup>. As has been shown in the case of story number 1, it was the *Hikayat Bakhtiar* that borrowed such stories from the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

The story also occurs in the Malay *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* as story number 20<sup>221</sup>. Using the summary of Brandes and the edition of Winstedt (1920), the two versions of the anecdote can be compared and some striking differences occur. Unlike the *Bustan us-Salatin*, the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* cites no source and names no country for the setting. More importantly, there are differences in the narrative; in the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* Husna gives money to her brother-in-law to find a woman and it is explained that her body is not buried after stoning so as to be an example to others. Neither of these details occur in the *Bustan us-Salatin*.

The *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* uses a more idiomatic form of Malay for the story. The *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* has no mention of an angel being sent by God. More importantly, the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* gives neither of the two possible endings suggested by the *Bustan us-Salatin*. In the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, Husna dies and her husband regrets that he has not had the opportunity of becoming king, making the ending to the story rather unsatisfactory.

## 28 (i)

This advice would appear to be in Nuruddin ar-Raniri's own words.

## Story 29

In the stories about Isa, miracles are produced to convince those who doubted his mission and this story illustrates this feature. The first part of this story incorporates the famous account of Isa making a bird of clay which is in the Quran 3:43 and is normally identified as a bat<sup>222</sup>. The account of the bat being created from

---

<sup>220</sup>Brandes 1895 p 243-246, 1899 (A) p 295.

<sup>221</sup>Brandes 1899 (B) p 485-488. <sup>222</sup>Hastings 1908 Vol 2 p 882.

clay is further elaborated in the *Qisas al-anbiya'* of Tha<sup>c</sup>alabi<sup>223</sup>. Ultimately it would appear that the account of clay birds may go back to the apocryphal Gospel of St Thomas where Jesus made 12 sparrows and made them fly away. The story also occurs in Jewish legends<sup>224</sup>.

There are statements in the Quran which can be interpreted as implying that Isa may have raised the dead (3:43) but no specific account of such events is to be found in the Quran although the traditional literature has many stories, including the one given here. These stories dealing with reviving the dead usually discuss the relevance of the miracles to the prophetic mission. Isa's ability to revive the dead is particularly associated with his breath. It is by blowing that he revitalizes the dead and heals. The present story has similarities with Matthew 9:27-32 and Luke 7:11-15.

It will have been seen that most of the stories in this book of the *Bustan us-Salatīn* feature a holy man attempting to correct a Muslim's lifestyle, rather than the conversion of a non-Muslim to Islam. In this story which does deal with a conversion from pagan belief, the faith is brought by a stranger from beyond the sea and once the new religion is accepted it gives its adherents a share in a higher civilization and elevates them to a higher position among the nations of the world. These features are common to the other stories of conversion in other chapters of the *Bustan us-Salatīn*.

The Malay *Kisas al-anbiya* includes this story in a long narrative<sup>225</sup>. Its existence has also been noted by Gerth van Wijk<sup>226</sup>. The story of Isa creating a bird from clay is also found in Javanese<sup>227</sup>. The story is included in the Malay *Hikayat Zakaria*<sup>228</sup> and appears to be derived from the *Qisas al-anbiya'*.

---

<sup>223</sup>Weil 1845 p 285; Jeffery 1962 p 579.

<sup>224</sup>Parrinder 1965 p 84. <sup>225</sup>*Kisas al-anbiya* 1348 AH p 134-136.

<sup>226</sup>Gerth van Wijk 1893 p 696-697. <sup>227</sup>Hoezoo 1865 p 236.

<sup>228</sup>Nalom Siahaan (ed) 1974 p 92-96.



## SECTION 6 - LISTS

### 6.1 LIST OF PROPER NAMES OCCURRING IN THE TEXT

The numbers in square brackets refer to the page numbers of Raffles Malay MS no 8 in which the name occurs. The list excludes some of the more frequent proper names occurring in the text such as Nabi, Muhammad, Quran and Allah Taala.

Abdal	(298 (twice) and 299 (passim)) <i>abdāl</i> - a rank of saint.
Abdullah	(286) - an unidentified ascetic.
Abdullah ibn Mubarak Alim	(313) <sup>c</sup> Abdullāh ibn Mubārak - a famous Persian ascetic.
(Syekh) Abdullah Yafii	(278, 299 and 303) <sup>c</sup> Abdullāh al-Yāfi <sup>c</sup> <sub>i</sub> - the mystic author who was born in 1298 (Section 5.1 and 5.2).
(Syekh) Abdu'r-Rahman	(299 and 301) <sup>c</sup> Abd al-Rahmān - a pious man.
Abu Bakar	(296) Abū Bakr - the first Caliph.
Abu Bakar anak Abu'd-Dunia	(277) Abū Bakr ibn Abī'l-Dunyā - an author born in 823 AD (Section 5.2).

- Abu'd-Dardai (298)  
Abu 'l-Darda' - a transmitter of *hadith*.
- Abu Hurairah (294 and 295)  
Abū Hurairah - a companion of the Prophet who was a prolific transmitter of *hadith*.
- (Raja) Abu'l-Fawaris (278)  
Syah ibn Suja Abū 'l-Fawaris Shah ibn Suja<sup>c</sup> al-Kirman - a man of princely descent who died around 884 AD (Arberry 1966 p 183).
- Abu'l-Hasan (294)  
al-Ahwazi Abū 'l-Hasan al-Ahwazī - an author of lost Arabic works (Bagley 1971 p xii).
- Abu Ishak (313)  
Kaabu'l-Ahbari Abū Ishāq Ka<sup>c</sup>b al-Ahbār - a converted Jew who is the source of many Jewish-Muslim traditions.
- (Nabi) Adam (298)  
Ādam - the first prophet.
- (Imam) Ahmad (301 (twice))  
ibn Hanbali Ahmad ibn Hanbal - the famous compiler of a collection of *hadith* called *Musnad*.
- (baginda) Ali (298)  
<sup>c</sup>Alī ibn Abī Tālib - the Caliph Ali who was the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet.
- Asaib (298)  
<sup>c</sup>Asā'ib - a rank of saint.
- Aulia (298 and 300 (passim))  
Auliya' - used for a rank of saint.
- Autad (298, 300 (passim) and 301)  
Autād - a rank of saint.

Badui	(317-331 (passim)) Badawī - bedouin.
Baitulmukadas	(299, 301 and 341) Bait al-muqaddas - Jerusalem.
(Syekh) Bilalu'l-Khawasi	(301) Bilāl al-Khawās - named as an authority for a story.
(Nabi Allah) Dawud	(292 and 300) Dā'ūd - the prophet David.
Farsi	(294) Fāris - Persia and in general non-Arab.
(Syekh) Fudail ibn Iyyas	(309-311 (passim)) Fudail ibn <sup>c</sup> Iyād - a bandit who repented and became a Sufi.
Ghauth	(298 (twice) and 300 (passim)) <u>Ghauth</u> - the highest rank of saint.
Habsyi	(303 (passim), 304 and 329) <u>Habashī</u> - negro.
Harath anak Muhammad	(277) <u>Harath</u> ibn Muhammad - named as an authority for a story.
(Raja) Harun ar-Rasyid	(310 (twice)) Hārūn al-Rashīd - the famous Caliph and the subject of numerous stories.
Harut wa Marut	(295) Hārūt wa-Mārūt - two bewitching angels mentioned in Quran 2:95; their Jewish background is discussed by Margoliouth (1928).

- Hasyimi (287)  
Hāshimī - belonging to the Hashimite clan of the Quraish tribe to which the Prophet belonged.
- Hindi (312)  
Hindī - Indian.
- Hindustan (311)  
Hindustān - India.
- Hubal al-ala (333)  
 Hubal al-a<sup>c</sup>ala - a pre-Islamic god discussed by Krehl (1972) and Fahd (1968 p 95-103).
- Husna (313-333 (passim))  
Husnā - a female character in a story.
- Iblis (319, 339 (passim) and 340 (twice))  
Iblīs - the devil.
- Ibn Masud (297)  
 Ibn Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd - a famous transmitter of *ḥadīth* and compiler of the *Musnad Ahmad*.
- (Nabi) Ibrahim (298, 299, 300 (twice) and 301)  
Ibrāhīm - the prophet Abraham.
- Ilias (299 and 301 (twice))  
Ilyās - Elias who frequently accompanies Khidr.
- Imam Ghazali (287 and 302)  
al-Ghazzālī - the eminent mystic who died in 1111 AD.
- Imam Syafii (301 (twice))  
al-Shāfi'ī - the founder of the Shafiitic school of law.

Irak	(294 and 298 (twice)) al- <sup>c</sup> Irāq - Iraq.
(Nabi Allah) Isa	(295 (passim), 298, 300, 306-308 (passim) and 333-341 (passim)) <sup>c</sup> Isā - the prophet Jesus.
(Raja) Iskandar Zulkarnain	(277-278 (passim), 291-293 (passim) and 301) Iskandar <u>Dhū</u> 'l-Qarnain - Alexander the Great.
Israfil	(298) Isrāfil - an angel.
Israil	(284 (passim), 301, 305, 313 (twice), 321, 324 and 334) Isrā'il - Israel.
Jalinus Hakim	(291 (twice) and 292) Jālīnūs - Galen, the physician and philosopher.
Jibrail	(298 and 300) Jabra'il - the angel Gabriel.
Kaabah	(301 and 303) Ka <sup>c</sup> ba - the Sanctuary in Mecca; its creation is discussed in Book I Chapter 22 of the <i>Bustan us-Salatīn</i> .
Karaman	(278) Kirmān or Karmān - a province of North Persia.
(Sungai) Kauthar	(318) al-Kauthar - a river in Paradise.
(Raja) Kay Khusrau	(294) Kai <u>Khusrau</u> - a pre-Muslim king of Persia.

- Khidir (298 (twice), 299, 300 and 301 (passim))  
Khidr - a well-known legendary figure.
- Khurasani (294 (twice), 298 and 311)  
Khurāsān - a province of Eastern Persia.
- Kirman (283)  
Kirman - a province of North Persia (see Karaman).
- Kundah (280 (passim))  
 Kinda - a south Arabian tribe which settled in the west of Hadramaut, an area which approximates to present day central Saudi Arabia.
- Kuraisy (277)  
Quraish - the Arab tribe to which the Prophet belonged.
- Kutub (298)  
Qutb - the highest rank of saint.
- Lat (333)  
Lāt - a pre-Islamic god discussed by Krehl (1972) and Fahd (1968 p 111-120).
- Madinah (301)  
Madīna - the city of Medina.
- Makah (291 (twice), 301, 310 and 311)  
 Makka - the city of Mecca.
- Mesir (298)  
Mīsr - Egypt.
- Mikail (298)  
Mikā'il - the angel Michael.
- Mubarak (311 (passim), 312 (passim) and 313)  
Mubārak - the father of <sup>c</sup>Abdullāh ibn Mubārak,

a famous Persian ascetic.

- (Syekh) Muhammad [308]  
 anak Abu Bakar Muhammad ibn Abū Bakr - named as an authority  
 for a story.
- Muhammad ibn [287]  
 Simaki Muhammad ibn Simak - a character in a story.
- Mukhtaruna [298 and 300 (passim)]  
 Mukhtārūn - a rank of saint.
- Munim ibn Idris [313]  
 Mu<sup>c</sup>īm ibn Idrīs - named as an authority for a  
 story.
- (Nabi Allah) [298, 300, 301 and 302 (passim)]  
 Musa Mūsā - the prophet Moses.
- Musa ibn Muhammad [287, 289 (passim), 290 and 291 (passim)]  
 ibn Sulaiman Mūsā ibn Muhammad ibn Sulaimān - a character in  
 a story.
- Nahrawan [310]  
 Nahrawān - area between Baghdād and Wasit.
- Nasrani [312]  
 Nasrānī - Christian.
- (Nabi Allah) Nuh [300]  
 Nūh - the prophet Noah.
- Nuh ibn Mariam [311]  
 Nūh ibn Mariām - a character in a story.
- Nujaba [298 (twice) and 300 (passim)]  
 Nujabā' - a rank of saint.

Nukaba	(298 and 300 (passim)) Nuqabā' - a rank of saint.
Rukun Syami	(301) Rukn al-Shām - the Syrian corner in Mecca.
Siti Aisyah	(293) Ā'ishah - the daughter of Abū Bakr who married the Prophet and is an important source for <i>hadith</i> .
(Nabi Allah) Sulaiman	(299 and 300) Sulaimān - the prophet Solomon.
Sur	(333 (twice)) Sūr - the city of Tyre.
(Raja) Syah Kirmani	(283 (passim) and 284) Shāh al-Kirmān - a character in a story.
Syahru'l-Harath	(301 and 302) Bishr ibn al-Harith - a famous Sufi who was an authority on <i>hadith</i> and died around 840 AD.
Syaitan	(306 (twice) and 329) Shaitān - Satan.
Syam	(298 (twice)) Shām - Syria and in general the north as opposed to Yaman (south).
Tamimi	(277) Tamīm - an Arab tribe.
Tasnīm	(289) Tasnīm - a drink in Paradise.
Thauban	(296 (passim)) Thauban - a companion of the Prophet.



- Tiah (317)  
 Tī<sup>c</sup>a - name of a wind.
- Tuba (290)  
 Tūbā - a tree in Paradise, described in the  
*Hikayat Seribu Masail* (Pijper 1924 p 78).
- (Bukit) Tursina (301 and 302 (passim))  
 Tūr Sīnā - Mount Sinai.
- Urapa (298 and 300 (twice))  
<sup>c</sup>Urafā' - a rank of saint.
- Uzza (333)  
<sup>c</sup>Uzzā - a pre-Islamic god described by Krehl  
 (1972) and Fahd (1968 p 163-182).
- Yahudi (312)  
 Yahūdī - Jew.
- Yajuj wa Majuj (301)  
 Yājūj wa-Mājūj - Gog and Magog.
- (Sultan) Yakub (294 (twice))  
 ibn Laith Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb ibn Laith - the founder of the Saffarid  
 dynasty.
- Yaman (280, 282 and 283)  
 Yaman - Yemen and in general the south as opposed  
 to Shām (north).

## 6.2 LIST OF UNUSUAL WORDS OCCURRING IN THE TEXT

The numbers in square brackets refer to the page numbers of Raffles Malay MS no 8 in which the word occurs.

- ahlulmufasirin* (296)  
- the commentators on the Quran.
- (*biji*) *ajmud* (301)  
*ajmud* - used to translate Arabic *karafs* (plant).
- andam* (301)  
*mengandami* - from the Acehnese *andam* meaning to trim (Djajadiningrat 1934 Vol 1 p 51).
- angan* (279) - *angan yang berlanjut-lanjutan*  
(281) - *angan-angan yang lanjut*  
- excessive illusions.
- bejana* (289 (passim))  
- drinking vessel.
- kebengkalan* (292)  
*kabangkelānan* - choke; also found in the *Syair Perang Mengkasar* (Skinner 1963 p 255).
- (*ber-*)*biji sabak* (291)  
*biji sābaq* - used to translate the Arabic *nabada* (lament); also found in Book VI (Leiden Cod Or 1694 p 104 and 112) and in his *al-Fawa'id* (Voorhoeve (ed) 1955 p 321) and the *Hikayat Pasai* (Raffles Malay 67 p 91).
- (*mukanya seperti*) (287 and 332)  
*bulan purnama* - having a beautiful round face, used to translate *istidarāt al-qamar*; the likening of the moon to a beautiful face can be traced back to Greek romances (Von Grunebaum 1942 p 285).

- buni* (297 (twice))  
- conceal; the form *buni* for *bunyi* is also in Nuruddin ar-Raniri's *Tibyan* (Voorhoeve (ed) 1955 p 31) and in the *Hikayat Aceh* (Iskandar 1958 p 196).
- buyung* (283)  
- water jug; used to translate Arabic *jarra*.
- catur dan cuki* (288)  
- chess and draughts; an account of both these Malay games can be found in Wilkinson (1910 *catur* p 49 and p 79 and *cuki* p 50) and *catur*, a game much like chess, is described by Elcum (1907 p 87).
- cincang* (338)  
*dicincangnyalah* - chopped up.
- cuca* (322)  
*dicuca* - reprimand (?)
- daku*  
throughout the text spelt *dīaku* - I; Ras (1968 p 540) notes that *dī-* is found in front of a personal pronoun when preceded by a preposition or verb.
- deser* (295)  
*perdeser* - incite (Wilkinson 1959 p 278).
- dibaj* (290)  
*dībāj* - brocade (Wehr 1961 p 270).
- empu* (277)  
*mengempukan* - to rule; *mengempukan diri*, meaning to submit is found in the *Hikayat Aceh* (Iskandar 1958 p 75, p 79 and p 116); *mengempukan* is also found in the oldest Malay manuscripts (Shellabear 1898 p 123).

- fadihat* (319 (twice) and 329 (twice))  
- disgrace.
- fardu* (297)  
*fard* - obligatory.
- garba* (291)  
- leather bag; the word translates the Arabic *jirāb*; *kariba kulit* is found in Book III (Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 p 314) as a cooking vessel.
- hairam* (281, 309 and 340)  
- blush; the word is used frequently in Book III (Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 p 479), Book VI (Leiden Cod Or 1694 p 424) and Book VII (SOAS 36500 p 10).
- hardik* (278)  
- drive away.
- harimau* (278 (passim) and 302)  
- lion; used to translate Arabic *sabu*<sup>c</sup> (see Jones 1970 p 260-262).
- herib* (316 (elsewhere in the manuscript *herik*))  
- scream; Iskandar (1958 p 123) notes that the form *mengerip* is used twice in the *Hikayat Aceh* and he notes its similarity to the Acehnese forms *geuréb* and *geuneuréb*.
- hubaya-hubaya* (333)  
*hubaya-hubaya jangan* - lest; it is also found in Nuruddin ar-Raniri's *Tibyan* (Voorhoeve (ed) 1955 p 37 and p 88).
- (*pen-*)*jaruman* (313, 314 and 328)  
*perempuan penjaruman* - procuress.
- jemaah* (327)  
- Muslim community; from Arabic *jamā'*<sup>c</sup>.

- jinak* (287 and 302)  
*berjinak-jinakkan* - familiar; the form is also found in Book III (Kuala Lumpur MS no 41 p 371).
- jungjung* (312 (325 and 337 spelt *junjung*))  
 - obey.
- kafa* (296)  
 - sufficient.
- kamad* (301)  
*kamād* - used to translate the Arabic *kan'a* (truffles).
- kesturi* (289)  
 - musk.
- khazanah* (285)  
 - treasury.
- kendi* (278 and 290)  
 - water jug; used to translate the Arabic *sharba*; *kendi kulit* is used in Book V (Raffles Malay MS no 8 p 355) and *kendi* is used in Book VI (Leiden Cod Or 1694 p 424).
- kirabin* (311)  
*k-r-a-b-n* - those afflicted by sorrow (?); a possible derivation from the Arabic *karaba*.
- kiraman katibin* (308)  
 - guardian angels; mentioned in Quran 82:12.
- kubah* (286 and 302)  
 - vault.
- (*baju*) *kumbala* (291)  
 - goatherd's smock; also occurs in the early part of Chapter 1 of this book (Jones 1974 p 20).

- kutaha* (279 and 295)  
- means the same as *gerangan* (Drewes 1955 B p 81); also occurs in the *Hikayat Aceh* (Iskandar 1958 p 198).
- lasa* (323 (twice))  
- paralysed.
- lotar* (335 and 336)  
- throw; *lotar* is also found for the modern form *lontar* in the *Hikayat Banjar* (Ras 1968 p 564) and the *Hikayat Aceh* (Iskandar 1958 p 198).
- malaikatulhafzat* (309 (twice))  
- recording angels.
- malema* (288)  
- inlaid with gold or silver; from the Arabic *mulamma<sup>2</sup>*. Klinkert (1916) notes that it is used in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*.
- (ter-)meterai* (289)  
- sealed.
- muallak* (340 (passim) and 341)  
- suspended; from the Arabic *mi<sup>2</sup>allaq*.
- munajat* (289 and 302 (passim))  
- communion; from the Arabic *munājāh*.
- narwastu* (287)  
- spikenard.
- ngapa* (285 and 317)  
- why; also found in the *Sirat al-mustakim* (Tjokrowinoto 1964 p 75).
- ngerang* (317 (twice))  
- groan.

- nin* (285)  
- this; also occurs elsewhere in the *Bustan us-Salatin* (Cod Or 2016 p 18).
- noktah* (294 and 302)  
- full stop.
- nyaring* (288, 310 and 322)  
- loud, used in contrast to *perlahan*.
- nyedar* (281, 310, 336 (twice), 337 and 338)  
- conscious (= *sedar*); it is also used in this sense in the *Hikayat Aceh* (Iskandar 1958 p 177) where *tiada nyedar dirinya* means to be unconscious.
- (ber-)pakankan* (290)  
- woven; also used in the *Hikayat Aceh* (Iskandar 1958 p 107 and p 163).
- rencana* (297)  
- story (?).
- rumal* (334, 335, 336, 337 and 338)  
- handkerchief.
- sadikin* (296)  
- the upright.
- sakhawat* (313)  
- generosity; from the Arabic *sakhāwa*.
- sakhi* (313)  
- generous; from the Arabic *sakhīy*.
- salam* *dua rakaat satu salam* (332)  
*dua rakaat sesalam* (340)  
- a blessing said after the ritual *ṣalāt*; also used in the earlier part of Chapter 1 of this book (Jones 1974 p 18).

- (*kain*) *sapar* (281 and 289)  
*pinggangan* - pieces of coarse cloth; see also Jones (1974 p 73).
- sejahtera* (294, 318 and 333)  
 - peace.
- selimut* (281, 284 (twice) and 289)  
 - to wear on the upper part of the body.
- (*ber-*)*sendi* (288)  
 - mounted.
- serapa* (335)  
 - curse.
- (*ter-*)*serakai* (301)  
 - coarse (?).
- si fulan* (311)  
 - someone.
- simbat* (322)  
 - draw back.
- suku* (306)  
 - used to indicate a fraction.
- sumbing* (283)  
 - uneven edge.
- sunah* *puasa sunah* (285) and (299)  
*ibadat yang sunah* (297)  
*sembahyang sunah* (299)  
 - commendable, orthodox.
- tak dapat tiada* (291, 303, 319 and 321)  
 - double negation; also used in the *Hikayat Aceh* (Iskandar 1958 p 74 and p 88).



- telangkai* (283 and 312)  
- ask in marriage; *telangkai* is used to mean a go-between in arranging a marriage in Book VII of the work (SOAS 36500 p 63).
- terpa* (278)  
- pounce.
- yakut* (289, 302 and 339 (passim))  
- jacinth.
- zabarjad* (289)  
- chrysolite.
- zarah* (295 and 302)  
- atom; from the Arabic dharrā.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Abbreviations

- AIUN* Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli  
nuova serie.
- BKI* Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
- DB* Dewan Bahasa.
- JAOS* Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JMBRAS* Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JRAS* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JSBRAS* Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JSEAH* Journal of South East Asian History.
- TBG* Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
- VKI* Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-  
en Volkenkunde.

## Abel 1955

A Abel, *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, Brussels.

## <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hayy 1955

<sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hayy ibn Fakhr al-Dīn al-Hasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*,  
Volume 5, Hyderabad.

## Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal 1313 AH

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6 Vols, Cairo.

## Alarcón 1930

M Alarcón, *Lampara de los Principes*, 2 Vols, Madrid.

## Anon 1967

Anon, 'Nuruddin ar-Raniri', *DB* 11, pp 124-125.

Arberry 1951

A J Arberry, 'Ibn Abi'l-Dunyā on Penitence', *JRAS* pts 1 & 2, pp 48-63.

Arberry 1966

A J Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, London.

Archer 1937

R le Roy Archer, 'Muhammadan mysticism in Sumatra', *JMBRAS* 15 pt 2, pp 1-126.

al-Attas 1966

Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *Ranīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th century Aceh*, Singapore.

al-Attas 1970

Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, Kuala Lumpur.

al-Baghawī 1295 AH

Husain ibn Mas'ūd al-Farrā al-Baghawī, *Ma'ālīm al-tanzīl*, Bombay.

Bagley 1971

F R C Bagley, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings*, 2nd ed OUP, London.

Baharuddin Zainal (ed) 1963

Baharuddin Zainal (ed), *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, Bunga Rampai Sastra Lama III, Kuala Lumpur.

Baidāwī 1901-1902

Baidāwī, *Tafsir al-Qur'ān*, trans by Abdul Rauf, 2 Vols in one, np.

Basset 1926

R Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes Arabes*, Vol 3, Paris.

Basset and Starkweather 1901

R Basset and C C Starkweather, *Moorish and Malayan Literature*, London.

Bastin and Roolvink 1964

J Bastin and R Roolvink, *Malayan and Indonesian Studies*, OUP, London.

Bausani 1962

A Bausani, 'Note sulla struttura della "hikayat" classica malese', *AIUON* 12, pp 163-191.

Bausani 1964

A Bausani, 'Note sui vocaboli persiani in malese-indonesiano', *AIUON* 14, pp 1-32.

Bausani 1975

A Bausani, 'Is Classical Malay a "Muslim Language"?', *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 11, pp 111-121.

Bezemer 1904

T J Bezemer, *Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*, The Hague.

Bousquet 1955

G H Bousquet, *Ih'ya Oulôûm ed-Dîn ou Vivication des Sciences de la Foi*, Paris.

Bouyges 1959

M Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali*, Beirut.

Brakel 1969-70

L F Brakel, 'Persian influence on Malay Literature', *Abr-Nahrain* 9, pp 1-16.

Brakel 1975

L F Brakel, *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, The Hague.

Brandes 1895

J Brandes, 'Nadere opmerkingen over de Maleische bewerkingen van

de geschiedenis der 10 vizieren', *TBG* 38/3, pp 192-273.

Brandes Uittreksels 1895

J Brandes, 'Uittreksels', *TBG* 38/4, pp 379-403.

Brandes 1899A

J Brandes, 'De inhoud van de groote Hikayat Bakhtiyar', *TBG* 41/3-4, pp 292-299.

Brandes 1899B

J Brandes, 'Iets over het Papegaai-Boek, zooals het bij de Maleiers voorkomt', *TBG* 41/5-6, pp 431-497.

Brockelmann 1898

C Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, 1 Band, Weimar.

Brockelmann 1902

C Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, 2 Band, Berlin.

Brockelmann 1937

C Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Erster Supplementband, Leiden.

Brockelmann 1938

C Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Zweiter Supplementband, Leiden.

Browne 1928

E G Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol 2 of 4, Cambridge.

Burckhardt 1963

T Burckhardt, *An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, trans by D M Matheson, Lahore.

Burton nd

R F Burton, *Supplemental Nights to the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, Vol 1, printed by the Burton club for private subscribers only.

Cabaton 1912

A Cabaton, *Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Indiens, Indochinois et Malayo-Polynésien*, Paris.

Cameron 1917

C R Cameron, *Sulu Writing*, Philippines.

Cardonne 1783

D D Cardonne, *Mélanges de Littérature Orientale*, La Haye.

Darke 1978

H Darke, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, 2nd ed, London.

De Haan 1937

F De Haan, 'Personalia der Periode van het Engelse Bestuur van Java (1811-1816)', *BKI* 92, pp 478-681.

Djajadiningrat 1911

R H Djajadiningrat, 'Critisch overzicht van de in Maleische werken vervatte gegevens over de Geschiedenis van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh', *BKI* 65, pp 135-265.

Djajadiningrat 1934

R A H Djajadiningrat, *Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, 2 Vols, Batavia.

Drewes 1950

G W J Drewes, 'De Herkomst van het Voegwoord Bahwasanya, Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Kitab-Maleis', in *Bingkisan Budi, Bundel Opstellen voor Ph S van Ronkel*, pp 104-115, Leiden.

Drewes 1955A

G W J Drewes, 'De Herkomst van Nuruddin ar-Raniri', *BKI* 111, pp 137-151.

Drewes 1955B

G W J Drewes, 'Een 16de eeuwse Maleise Vertaling van de Burda van al-Būsīrī', *VKI* 18, The Hague.

Drewes 1970

G W J Drewes, 'Hikayat Muhammad Mukabil', *BKI* 126, pp 309-331.

Edwards 1911

A Hart Edwards, *The Bustān of Sadi*, London.

Elcum 1907

T B Elcum, 'Malay Chess', *JMBRAS* 49, pp 87-92.

Enc of Islam

References to the Encyclopedia of Islam refer to the 1st edition unless otherwise indicated.

Fahd 1968

T Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris.

al-Fatani 1958

Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Mustafā al-Fatānī, *Kitāb Uḍḍīqat al-Azhār wa-l-rayāḥīn*, 4th ed, Penang.

al-Fatani circa 1960

Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Mustafā al-Fatānī, *Jam' al-Fawā'id*, Singapore.  
(Nuruddin ar-Raniri's *al-Fawā'id al-Baḥīya* is printed in the margin)

Field 1910

C Field, *The Alchemy of Happiness*, London.

Fokker 1909

A A Fokker, 'Arabic and Malay', *Le Monde Oriental* 111, pp 178-236.

Friedlaender 1913

I Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig and Berlin.

Gaster 1924

M Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis*, London and Leipzig.

Gerhardt 1963

M I Gerhardt, *The art of Story-telling, a literary study of the Thousand and one Nights*, Leiden.

Gerth van Wijk 1893

D Gerth van Wijk, 'De Koranische Verhalen in het Maleisch', *TBG* 35, pp 249-345 and *TBG* 36, pp 531-690.

Ghazzālī 1939

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 4 Vols, Cairo.

Ghazzālī nd

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarriba ilā i'lam al-ghuyūb*, Cairo.

Gomez 1963

E G Gomez, *Antologia Arabe*, Madrid.

Gonda 1973

J Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, 2nd ed, New Delhi.

Graham 1977

W A Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in early Islam*, The Hague and Paris.

Grinter et al 1979

A Grinter, R Jones, U Kratz and R Mulyadi, 'Five Undescribed Malay Manuscripts in Cambridge: A Preliminary Note', *Indonesia Circle* 18, pp 29-32.

Hallauer 1925

J Hallauer, *Die Vita des Ibrahim b. Edhem in der Tedhkiret el-Ewlija des Ferid ed-Din Attar*, Leipzig.

Hamori 1974

A Hamori, *On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature*, Princeton.

Hastings 1908

Hastings, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, 2 Vols, Edinburgh.



Hayek 1959

M Hayek, *Le Christ de l'Islam*, Paris.

Hikayat Raja Junjumah 1823

'The History of Rajah Junjumah', *Asiatic Journal* 15, pp 249-256.

Hoezoo 1865

W Hoezoo, 'Bijdrage tot de Kennis van de Bijbelsche Legenden der Mohammedanen', *Mededeelingen* 9, pp 333-359.

Hoezoo 1873

W Hoezoo, 'Nog eene Legende over Nabi Isa', *Mededeelingen* 17, pp 266-271.

Hooykaas 1937

C Hooykaas, *Over Maleische Literatuur*, Leiden.

Houdas 1914

O Houdas, *El-Bokhari, Les Traditions Islamiques*, Vol 4, Paris.

Howard 1966

J H Howard, *Malay Manuscripts, a Bibliographical Guide*, Kuala Lumpur.

Hughes 1896

T P Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, London.

Humā'ī 1351 SH

Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, *Nasīhat al-mulūk*, Tehran.

al-Husayni 1960

Ishaq Musa al-Husayni, 'Christ in the Qur'ān and in Modern Arabic Literature', *Moslem World* 50, pp 297-302.

Hussain (ed) 1966

K Hussain, *Taj us-Salatīn*, Kuala Lumpur.

Hussein 1966

Ismail Hussein, 'The Study of Traditional Malay Literature',

*JMBRAS* 39 pt 2, pp 1-22.

Hussein 1969

Ismail Hussein, 'A Selected Bibliography of Traditional Malay Literature', *Tenggara* 4, pp 94-115.

Ibn Māja 1953

Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, Vol 2, Cairo.

Iskandar 1958

Teuku Iskandar, 'De Hikayat Atjeh', *VKI* 26, The Hague.

Iskandar 1964

Teuku Iskandar, 'Nuruddin ar-Raniri Pengarang abad ke17' *DB* 8, pp 436-441.

Iskandar (ed) 1966

Teuku Iskandar, *Bustamu's-Salatīn Bab II Fasal 13*, Kuala Lumpur.

Iskandar 1967

Teuku Iskandar, 'Three Malay Historical Writings in the first half of the 17th century', *JMBRAS* 40: pp 38-53.

Iskandar 1968

Teuku Iskandar, 'Some Aspects concerning the work of Copyists of Malay Historical Writings', *Peninjau Sejarah* III ii, pp 1-10.

Iskandar 1970

Teuku Iskandar, *Kamus Dewan*, Kuala Lumpur.

Iskandar 1976

Teuku Iskandar, 'Anachronism in Classical Malay Literature', *Indonésie* (Paris) 2, pp 94-98.

Ito 1978

Takeski Ito, 'Why did Nuruddin ar-Raniri leave Aceh in 1054 AH?', *BKI* 134, pp 489-491.

Jayakar 1906

A S G Jayakar, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān of ad-Damīrī*, 2 Vols, London.

Jeffery 1962

A Jeffery, *A Reader on Islam*, The Hague.

Johns 1957

A H Johns, 'Malay Sufism (as illustrated in an anonymous collection of 17th century tracts)', *JMBRAS* 30 pt 2, pp 5-111.

Johns 1961A

A H Johns, 'Muslim Mystics and Historical Writing', from D G E Hall (ed) *Historians of S E Asia*, London.

Johns 1961B

A H Johns, 'Sufism as a category in Indonesian Literature and History', *JSEAH* 2/2, pp 10-23.

Johnson (ed) 1863

F Johnson (ed), *The Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz: A new edition with a vocabulary*, London.

Jones 1969

R Jones, *A Study from Malay Manuscripts of the Legend of the Islamic Sufi Saint Ibrahim ibn Adham*, PhD Thesis, London.

Jones 1970

R Jones, 'Harimau', *BKI* 126, pp 260-262.

Jones 1974

R Jones, *Nuru'd-Din ar-Raniri Bustanu's-Salatin Bab IV Fasal 1*, Kuala Lumpur.

Juynboll 1899

H H Juynboll, *Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek*, Leiden.

Juynboll (ed) 1908

H H Juynboll, *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, Vol 4, Leiden.

Khawam 1976

R R Khawam, *Le Livre des Ruses*, Paris.

Kisas al-anbiya 1348 AH

*Kisas al-anbiya* (Malay text), 2 Vols bound in one, np.

Klinkert 1930

H C Klinkert, *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, 4th ed, Leiden.

Knappert 1967

J Knappert, *Traditional Swahili Poetry*, Leiden.

Knappert 1970

J Knappert, *Myths and Legends of the Swahili*, London.

Knappert 1976

J Knappert, 'The Qisasu'l-Anbiyā'i as Moralistic Stories', *Proceedings of the ninth Seminar for Arabian Studies* 6, pp 103-116.

Krehl 1972

L Krehl, *Über die Religion der Vorislamisches Araber*, Amsterdam.

Lane 1860

E W Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed, London.

Levy 1969

R Levy, *An Introduction to Persian Literature*, New York and London.

Lewis 1954

M B Lewis, *A Handbook of Malay Script*, London.

Lichtenstadter 1974

I Lichtenstadter, *Introduction to Classical Arabic Literature*, New York.

Lombard 1967

D Lombard, *Le Sultanat d'Atjéh au temps d'Iskandar Muda (1607-1636)*, Paris.

Maas 1958

P Maas, *Textual Criticism*, Oxford.

Makdisi (ed) 1961

G Makdisi (ed), *Kitab al-Tauwabin Ibn Qudama*, Damascus.

Margoliouth 1893-1906

D S Margoliouth, 'Christ in Islam', *Expository Times* 1893 p 59, 1894 p 107, 1895 pp 177-178, 1903 pp 503-504, 1904 p 561, 1906 p 140.

Margoliouth 1928

D S Margoliouth, 'Harut and Marut', *Moslem World* 18, pp 73-79.

Marre 1878

A Marre, *Makota Raja-Raja ou la Couronne des Rois*, Paris.

Marrison 1955

G E Marrison, 'Persian Influences in Malay Life (1280-1650)', *JMBRAS* 28, pp 52-69.

Meissner 1895

B Meissner, 'Mubasssirs Ahbâr el-Iskender', *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 49, pp 583-627.

Mitchell 1966

T F Mitchell, *Writing Arabic*, London.

Muslim 1329-1334 AH

Muslim, *Sahîh*, Constantinople.

Naim 1971

C Mohammed Naim, 'Arabic Orthography and some non-Semitic Languages', from G L Tikku (ed) *Islam and its Cultural Divergence*, University of Illinois Press.

Nalom Siahaan (ed) 1974

Nalom Siahaan (ed), *Hikayat Zakaria*, Jakarta.

Nicholson (ed) 1905

R A Nicholson (ed), *The Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā of Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn Attār*, 2 Vols, London and Leiden.

Nicholson 1911

R A Nicholson, *The Kashf al-Mahjub*, London.

Nicholson 1963

R A Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London.

Niemann 1892

G K Niemann, *Bloemlezing uit Maleische Geschriften*, 2 Vols, 4th ed, The Hague.

Norris 1972

H T Norris, *Saharan Myth and Saga*, Oxford.

Palacios 1916, 1926

M Asin Palacios, 'Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu', *Patrologia Orientale* 13 and 14.

Parrinder 1965

G Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, London.

Pijper 1924

G F Pijper, *Het Boek der Duizend Vragen*, Leiden.

Platts 1889

J T Platts, *The Gulistan of Sa'dī*, London.

Poerwadarminta 1976

W J S Poerwadarminta, *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia*, revised by Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Jakarta.

Pusposaputro 1976

M S Pusposaputro, *Hikayat Suhunan Gunung Jati*, M Phil Thesis,

London.

Quraishi 1972

M A Quraishi, *Muslim Education and Learning in Gujarat (1297-1758)*, Baroda.

Ras 1968

J J Ras, *Hikayat Bandjar*, The Hague.

Rat 1899

G Rat, *al-Mostatraf*, Vol 1, Paris.

Rat 1902

G Rat, *al-Mostatraf*, Vol 2, Paris.

Rescher 1920

O Rescher, *Die Geschichten und Anekdoten aus Qaljubî's Nawâdir und Shirwânî's Nefhat el-Jemen*, Stuttgart.

Reynolds and Wilson 1974

L D Reynolds and N G Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 2nd ed, Oxford.

Rice 1964

C Rice, *The Persian Sufis*, London.

Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977

M C Ricklefs and P Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, OUP, London.

Robson 1929

J Robson, *Christ in Islam*, London.

Robson 1939

J Robson, 'Muhammadan Teaching about Jesus', *Moslem World* 29, pp 37-54.

Robson 1963

J Robson, *Mishkât al-Masâbîh*, 4 Vols, Lahore.

Roolvink 1967

R Roolvink, 'The Variant Versions of the Malay Annals', *BKI* 123, pp 301-324.

Roolvink 1971

R Roolvink, 'Indonesia: Literatures' in *Enc of Islam* Vol III, pp 1230-1235.

Roorda van Eijsinga 1827

P P Roorda van Eijsinga, *De Kroon aller Koningen*, Batavia.

Rouhani 1961

F Rouhani, *Le Livre Divin (Elahi-Namēh)*, Paris.

al-Samarqandī nd

Nasr b Muhammad al-Samarqandī, *Tarbīh al-ghāfilīn*, np.

Shellabear 1898

W G Shellabear, 'An Account of some of the oldest Malay Manuscripts now extant', *JSBRAS* 31, pp 107-151.

Siddiqi 1972

<sup>c</sup>Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Vol II, Lahore.

Sidersky 1933

D Sidersky, *Les Origines des Légendes Musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les Vies des Prophètes*, Paris.

Skinner 1963

C Skinner, 'Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar', *VKI* 40, The Hague.

Smith 1932

M Smith, *The Persian Mystics: Attar*, London.

Snouck Hurgronje 1889

C Snouck Hurgronje, *Katalog der Malaiischen Handschriften der Königlichen Hofbibliothek in Berlin*, Leiden Cod Or 8015.



Snouck Hurgronje 1906

C Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, trans by A W S O'Sullivan,  
2 Vols, Leiden.

Steingass 1930

F Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, London.

Storey 1953

C A Storey, *Persian Literature*, London.

Subhan 1960

J A Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines*, Lucknow.

Taib bin Osman 1967

Mohammad Taib bin Osman, *Indigenous, Hindu and Islamic Elements  
in Malay Folk Beliefs*, PhD Thesis, Indiana University.

Teeuw 1961

A Teeuw, *A Critical Survey of Studies on Malay and Bahasa Indo-  
nesia*, The Hague.

Tirmidhī 1937

al-Tirmidhī, *Sahīh*, 10 Vols, Cairo.

Tjokrowinoto 1964

Sardanto Tjokrowinoto, *Tindjauan Kitab Sirata'l-Mustaqim*, PhD  
Thesis, Gadjah Mada Jogjakarta.

Tudjimah (ed) 1961

Tudjimah (ed), *Asrār al-insān fī ma'rifat al-rūh wa'l-rahmān*,  
Jakarta.

al-Turtūshi 1289 AH

Muhammad ibn Walīd al-Turtūshi, *Sirāj al-mulūk*, Alexandria.

Usman and Junus 1962

Zuber Usman and Mahnud Junus, *Riwayat Rasul jang 25*, Djakarta.

Van den Berg 1886

L W C Van den Berg, 'Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de daarbij gebruikte Arabische Boeken', *TBG* 31, pp 518-555.

Van Leeuwen 1937

P J Van Leeuwen, *De Maleische Alexanderroman*, Meppel.

Van Nieuwenhuyze 1945

C A O Van Nieuwenhuyze, *Samsu 'l-Dīn van Pasai*, Leiden.

Van Nieuwenhuyze 1945

C A O Van Nieuwenhuyze, 'Nur al-Din al-Raniri als Bestrijder der Wujudiya', *BKI* 104, pp 337-414.

Van Ronkel 1896

Ph S Van Ronkel, 'Account of six Malay Manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library', *BKI* 60, pp 1-52.

Van Ronkel 1899

Ph S Van Ronkel, 'Over Invloed der Arabische Syntaxis op de Maleische', *TBG* 41, pp 498-528.

Van Ronkel 1900

Ph S Van Ronkel, 'Over eene oude Lijst van Maleische Handschriften', *TBG* 42, pp 309-322.

Van Ronkel 1908

Ph S Van Ronkel, 'Beschrijving der Maleische Handschriften van de Bibliothèque Royale te Brussel', *BKI* 6, pp 501-520.

Van Ronkel 1909

Ph S Van Ronkel, *Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia and The Hague.*

Van Ronkel 1921

Ph S Van Ronkel, *Supplement-Catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabausche Handschriften in de Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek*,

Leiden.

Van Ronkel 1943

Ph S Van Ronkel, 'Raniri's Maleische Geschrift: Expose der Religies', *BKI* 102, pp 461-480.

Von Grunebaum 1942

G E Von Grunebaum, 'Greek Form Elements in the Arabian Nights', *JAOS* 62, pp 277-292.

Voorhoeve 1951

P Voorhoeve, 'Van en over Nūruddin ar-Rānīrī', *BKI* 107, pp 353-368.

Voorhoeve 1955

P Voorhoeve, 'Lijst der Geschriften van Rānīrī', *BKI* 111, pp 152-161.

Voorhoeve (ed) 1955

P Voorhoeve (ed), *Twee Maleische Geschriften van Nuruḍḍin ar-Raniri*, Leiden.

Voorhoeve 1956

P Voorhoeve, 'De Grote Hikayat Bachtiar', *BKI* 112, pp 416-417.

Voorhoeve 1959

P Voorhoeve, 'Korte Mededelingen', *BKI* 115, pp 90-91.

Voorhoeve 1961

P Voorhoeve, 'Supplement op de Lijst der Geschriften van Rānīrī', *BKI* 117, pp 481-482.

Voorhoeve 1969

P Voorhoeve, 'De Grote Hikayat Bachtiar', *BKI* 125, pp 374-375.

Voorhoeve 1973

P Voorhoeve, 'Les Manuscrits Malais de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Catalogue Révisé)', *Archipel* 6, pp 42-80.

al-Wāhidī 1315 AH

ʿAlī ibn Ahmad al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo.

Watt 1970

W M Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān*, completely revised and enlarged, Islamic Surveys 8, Edinburgh.

Wehr 1961

H Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed by J M Cowan, Wiesbaden.

Weil 1845

G Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Frankfurt.

Wensinck 1936

A J Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, Leiden.

Wensinck 1940

A J Wensinck, *La Pensée de Ghazzali*. Paris.

Wilkinson 1899

R J Wilkinson, *Bustan al-Salatin*, 2 Vols, Singapore.

Wilkinson 1910

R J Wilkinson, *Malay Amusements*, Papers on Malay Subjects, Life and Customs pt 3, Kuala Lumpur.

Wilkinson 1959

R J Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary*, 2 Vols, London.

Winstedt 1920A

R O Winstedt, 'The Genealogy of Malacca's Kings from a Copy of the Bustanu's-Salatin', *JSBRAS* 81, pp 39-47.

Winstedt 1920B

R O Winstedt, 'Bustanu's-Salatin: Its Date and Author', *JSBRAS* 82, pp 151-152.

Winstedt 1920C

R O Winstedt, *Hikayat Bayan Budiman atau Cherita Khojah Maimun*, Singapore.

Winstedt 1938

R O Winstedt, 'The Date, Authorship, Contents and some new MSS of the Malay Romance of Alexander the Great', *JMBRAS* 16 pt 2, pp 1-23.

Winstedt 1939

R O Winstedt, 'A History of Malay Literature', *JMBRAS* 17 pt 3.

Wismer 1977

D Wismer, *The Islamic Jesus: An Annotated Bibliography of Sources in English and French*, New York and London.

al-Yāfi<sup>Cī</sup> 1286 AH

<sup>C</sup>Abdallāh b As<sup>C</sup>ad al-Yāfi<sup>Cī</sup>, *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, Cairo.

al-Zabīdī nd

Muḥammad al-Murtada b Muḥammad al-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn*, 10 Vols, np.

Zubayd Ahmad 1929

M G Zubayd Ahmad, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, PhD Thesis, London.

Zwemer 1917

S M Zwemer, 'Jesus Christ in the Ihya of al-Ghazali', *Moslem World* 7, pp 144-158.